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The War

SUMMARY OF AMERICAN PAST POLICY IN THE PACIFIC

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS, DECEMBER 15

[Released to the press December 15]

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

On December 8, 1941, I presented to the Congress a message in person asking for a declaration of war as an answer to the treacherous attack made by Japan the previous day upon the United States. For the information of the Congress, and as a public record of the facts, I am transmitting this historical summary of the past policy of this country in relation to the Pacific area and of the more immediate events leading up to this Japanese onslaught upon our forces and territory. Attached hereto are the various documents and correspondence implementing this history.

I

A little over a hundred years ago, in 1833, the United States entered into its first Far Eastern treaty, a treaty with Siam. It was a treaty providing for peace and for dependable relationships.

Ten years later Caleb Cushing was sent to negotiate and in 1844 there was concluded our first treaty with China.

In 1853, Commodore Perry knocked on Japan's doors. In the next few years those doors began to open; and Japan, which had kept itself aloof from the world, began to adopt what we call Western civilization. During those early years, the United States used every influence it could exert to protect Japan in her transition stage.

With respect to the entire Pacific area, the United States has consistently urged, as it has

for all other parts of the globe, the fundamental importance to world peace of fair and equal treatment among nations. Accordingly whenever there has been a tendency on the part of any other nation to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of countries of the Far East, the United States has tried to discourage such tendency wherever possible.

There was a period when this American attitude was especially important to Japan. At all times it has been important to China and to other countries of the Far East.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country. The United States pledged itself to a policy toward the Philippines designed to equip them to become a free and independent nation. That pledge and that policy we have consistently carried out.

At that time there was going on in China what has been called the "scramble for concessions". There was even talk about a possible partitioning of China. It was then that the principle of the "open door" in China was laid down. In 1900, the American Government declared that its policy was to "seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China . . . protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire".

Ever since that day, we have consistently and unfailingly advocated the principles of the open-door policy throughout the Far East.

In the year 1908 the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement by an exchange of notes. In that agreement, the two Governments jointly declared that they were determined to support "by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire"; that it was "the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean"; and that "the policy of both Governments" was "directed to the maintenance of the existing *status quo*" in that region.

The United States has consistently practiced the principles enunciated in that agreement.

In 1921, following the close of the first World War, nine powers having interests in the western Pacific met in conference in Washington. China, Japan, and the United States were there. One great objective of this conference was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific and Far Eastern areas. Several treaties and agreements were concluded at that conference.

One of these was the Nine Power Treaty (see Annex 1). It contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China.

Another was a treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament. (See Annex 1.)

The course of events which have led directly to the present crisis began ten years ago. For it was then—in 1931—that Japan undertook on a large scale its present policy of conquest in China. It began by the invasion of Manchuria, which was part of China. The Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations, at once and during many months of continuous effort thereafter, tried to persuade Japan to stop. The United States supported that effort. For example, the Government of the United States on January 7, 1932, specifically stated in notes

sent to the Japanese and the Chinese Governments that it would not recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement brought about by violation of treaties. (See Annex 2.)

This barbaric aggression of Japan in Manchuria set the example and the pattern for the course soon to be pursued by Italy and Germany in Africa and in Europe. In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It was evident that, once re-armed, Germany would embark upon a policy of conquest in Europe. Italy—then still under the domination of Mussolini—also had resolved upon a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean.

Through the years which followed, Germany, Italy, and Japan reached an understanding to time their acts of aggression to their common advantage—and to bring about the ultimate enslavement of the rest of the world.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a friendly note to the United States, stating that he firmly believed that no question existed between the two Governments that was "fundamentally incapable of amicable solution". He added that Japan had "no intention whatever to provoke and make trouble with any other Power". (See Annex 3.) Our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, replied in kind. (See Annex 4.)

But in spite of this exchange of friendly sentiments, and almost immediately thereafter, the acts and utterances of the Japanese Government began to belie these assurances—at least so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

Our Government thereupon expressed to Japan the view of the American people, and of the American Government, that no nation has the right thus to override the rights and legitimate interests of other sovereign states. (See Annex 5.)

The structure of peace which had been founded upon the Washington Conference treaties began to be discarded by Japan. Indeed, in December of 1934, the Japanese Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the Naval Treaty of February 6, 1922, which had limited competition in naval armament. She

thereafter intensified and multiplied her rearmament program.

In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany by entering the Anti-Comintern Pact.

This Pact, as we all know, was nominally directed against the Soviet Union; but its real purpose was to form a league of fascism against the free world, particularly against Great Britain, France, and the United States.

Following this association of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened new large-scale military operations against China. Presently, her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of eastern Asia, the western Pacific, and the southern Pacific.

They thus accepted the German thesis that seventy or eighty million Germans were by race, training, ability, and might superior in every way to any other race in Europe—superior to about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, following suit, announced that the seventy or eighty million Japanese people were also superior to the seven or eight hundred million other inhabitants of the Orient—nearly all of whom were infinitely older and more developed in culture and civilization than themselves. Their conceit would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women, and children. They sank American vessels—including a naval vessel, the *Panay*. They bombed American hospitals, churches, schools, and missions. They destroyed American property. They obstructed, and in some cases, drove out American commerce.

In the meantime, they were inflicting incalculable damage upon China, and ghastly suffering upon the Chinese people. They were inflicting wholesale injuries upon other nations—flouting all the principles of peace and good-will among men.

There are attached hereto (see, respectively, Annexes 6, 7, 8, and 9) lists of American nationals killed or wounded by Japanese forces in China since July 7, 1937; of American property in China reported to have been damaged, destroyed, or seriously endangered by Japanese air bombing or air machine-gunning; of American nationals reported to have been assaulted, arbitrarily detained, or subjected to indignities; of interferences with American nationals, rights, and interests. These lists are not complete. However, they are ample evidence of the flagrant Japanese disregard of American rights and civilized standards.

II

Meanwhile, brute conquest was on the rampage in Europe and the Mediterranean.

Hitler and Mussolini embarked upon a scheme of unlimited conquest. Since 1935, without provocation or excuse they have attacked, conquered, and reduced to economic and political slavery some 16 independent nations. The machinery set up for their unlimited conquest included, and still includes, not only enormous armed forces but also huge organizations for carrying on plots, intrigue, intimidation, propaganda, and sabotage. This machine—unprecedented in size—has world-wide ramifications; and into them the Japanese plans and operations have been steadily interlocked.

As the forces of Germany, Italy, and Japan increasingly combined their efforts over these years, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack the United States and the Western Hemisphere—if it were successful in the other continents. The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the American family of nations in the New World, would be a standing challenge to the Axis. The Axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the

United States and the New World were included in their scheme of destruction.

This they did last year, in 1940, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan deliberately aimed at the United States.

The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, intimidation, and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

III

Pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan had first worked her way into and finally seized Manchuria. Next she had invaded China; and has sought for the past four and one-half years to subjugate her.

Passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, she then invaded and took possession of Indochina. Today the Japanese are extending this conquest throughout Thailand—and seeking the occupation of Malaya and Burma. The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java come next on the Japanese timetable; and it is probable that further down the Japanese page, are the names of Australia, New Zealand, and all the other islands of the Pacific—including Hawaii and the great chain of the Aleutian Islands.

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan violated the mandate under which she had received the custody of the Caroline, Marshall, and Mariana Islands after the World War, by fortifying them, and not only closing them to all commerce but her own but forbidding any foreigner even to visit them.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they really intended was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment—not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan—but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern.

By this course of aggression, Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The diversion thus created by Hitler's Japanese ally forced the peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge front in the Pacific.

IV

Throughout this course and program of Japanese aggression, the Government of the United States consistently endeavored to persuade the Government of Japan that Japan's best interests would lie in maintaining and cultivating friendly relations with the United States and with all other countries that believe in orderly and peaceful processes. Following the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China in 1937, this Government made known to the Japanese Government and to the Chinese Government that whenever both those Governments considered it desirable we stood ready to exercise our good offices. During the following years of conflict that attitude on our part remained unchanged.

In October 1937, upon invitation by which the Belgian Government made itself the host, 19 countries which have interests in the Far East, including the United States, sent representatives to Brussels to consider the situation in the Far East in conformity with the Nine Power Treaty and to endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties between Japan and China by peaceful means. Japan and Germany only of all the powers invited declined to attend. Japan was itself an original signatory of the treaty. China, one of the signatories, and the Soviet Union, not a signatory, attended. After the Conference opened, the countries in attendance made further attempts to persuade Japan to participate in the Conference. Japan again declined.

On November 24, 1937 the Conference adopted a declaration, urging that "hostilities be suspended and resort be had to peaceful processes".

Japan scorned the Conference and ignored the recommendation.

It became clear that, unless this source of affairs in the Far East was halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which have devastated Europe.

Therefore, in this year of 1941, in an endeavor to end this process by peaceful means while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into discussions with Japan.

For nine months these conversations were carried on, for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

Throughout all of these conversations, this Government took into account not only the legitimate interests of the United States but also those of Japan and other countries. When questions relating to the legitimate rights and interests of other countries came up, this Government kept in appropriate contact with the representatives of those countries.

In the course of these negotiations, the United States steadfastly advocated certain basic principles which should govern international relations. These were:

The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations.

The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The principle of equality—including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

The principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention, and pacific settlement, of controversies.

The Japanese Government, it is true, repeatedly offered qualified statements of peaceful intention. But it became clear, as each proposal was explored, that Japan did not intend to modify in any way her greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world. Although she continually maintained that she was promoting only the peace and greater prosperity of East Asia, she continued her brutal assault upon the Chinese people.

Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce her unholy alliance with Hitlerism.

In July of this year the Japanese Government connived with Hitler to force from the Vichy

Government of France permission to place Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina; and began sending her troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which again made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations were resumed.

At that time the Japanese Government made the suggestion that the responsible heads of the Japanese Government and of the Government of the United States meet personally to discuss means for bringing about an adjustment of relations between the two countries. I should have been happy to travel thousands of miles to meet the Premier of Japan for that purpose. But I felt it desirable, before so doing, to obtain some assurance that there could be some agreement on basic principles. This Government tried hard—but without success—to obtain such assurance from the Japanese Government.

The various proposals of the Japanese Government and the attitude taken by this Government are set forth in a document which the Secretary of State handed to the Japanese Ambassador on October 2, 1941 (see Annex 10).

Thereafter, several formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese Government continued upon its course of war and conquest.

Finally, on November 20, 1941, the Japanese Government presented a new and narrow proposal (see Annex 11) which called for supplying by the United States to Japan of as much oil as Japan might require, for suspension of freezing measures, and for discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained however no provision for abandonment by Japan of her war-like operations or aims.

Such a proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government, in order to clarify the issues, presented to the Japanese Government on November 26, a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement. (See Annex 12.)

The outline of the proposed plan for agreement between the United States and Japan was divided into two parts:

In section one there was outlined a mutual declaration of policy containing affirmations that the national policies of the two countries were directed toward peace throughout the Pacific area, that the two countries had no territorial designs or aggressive intentions in that area, and that they would give active support to certain fundamental principles of peace upon which their relations with each other and all other nations would be based. There was provision for mutual pledges to support and apply in their economic relations with each other and with other nations and peoples liberal economic principles, which were enumerated, based upon the general principle of equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

In section two there were outlined proposed steps to be taken by the two Governments. These steps envisaged a situation in which there would be no Japanese or other foreign armed forces in French Indochina or in China. Mutual commitments were suggested along lines as follows: (a) to endeavor to conclude a multilateral non-aggression pact among the governments principally concerned in the Pacific area; (b) to endeavor to conclude among the principally interested governments an agreement to respect the territorial integrity of Indochina and not to seek or accept preferential economic treatment therein; (c) not to support any government in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking; (d) to relinquish extraterritorial and related rights in China and to endeavor to obtain the agreement of other governments now possessing such rights to give up those rights; (e) to negotiate a trade agreement based upon reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment; (f) to remove freezing restrictions imposed by each country on the funds of the other; (g) to agree upon a plan for the stabilization of the dollar-yen rate; (h) to agree that no agreement which either had concluded with any third power or powers shall be interpreted by it in a way to conflict with the fundamental pur-

pose of this agreement; and (i) to use their influence to cause other governments to adhere to the basic political and economic principles provided for in this suggested agreement.

In the midst of these conversations, we learned that new contingents of Japanese armed forces and new masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. During the first week of December new movements of Japanese forces made it clear that, under cover of the negotiations, attacks on unspecified objectives were being prepared.

I promptly asked the Japanese Government for a frank statement of the reasons for increasing its forces in Indochina. (See Annex 13.) I was given an evasive and specious reply (see Annex 14). Simultaneously, the Japanese operations went forward with increased tempo.

We did not know then, as we know now, that they had ordered and were even then carrying out their plan for a treacherous attack upon us.

I was determined, however, to exhaust every conceivable effort for peace. With this in mind, on the evening of December sixth last, I addressed a personal message to the Emperor of Japan. (See Annex 15.)

To this Government's proposal of November twenty-sixth the Japanese Government made no reply until December seventh. On that day the Japanese Ambassador here and the Special Representative whom the Japanese Government had sent to the United States to assist in peaceful negotiations, delivered a lengthy document to our Secretary of State, one hour after the Japanese had launched a vicious attack upon American territory and American citizens in the Pacific.

That document (see Annex 16) was a few minutes after its receipt aptly characterized by the Secretary of State as follows:

"I must say that in all my conversations with you [the Japanese Ambassador] during the last nine months I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record. In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distor-

tions—infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any government on this planet was capable of uttering them."

I concur emphatically in every word of that statement.

For the record of history, it is essential in reading this part of my Message always to bear in mind that the actual air and submarine attack in the Hawaiian Islands commenced on Sunday, December 7, at 1:20 p. m., Washington time—7:50 a. m., Honolulu time of same day—Monday, December 8, 3:20 a. m., Tokyo time.

To my message of December 6 (9 p. m. Washington time—December 7, 11 a. m. Tokyo time) to the Emperor of Japan, invoking his cooperation with me in further effort to preserve peace, there has finally come to me on December 10 (6:23 a. m., Washington time—December 10, 8:23 p. m., Tokyo time) a reply, conveyed in a telegraphic report by the American Ambassador at Tokyo dated December 8, 1 p. m. (December 7, 11 p. m., Washington time).

The Ambassador reported that at 7 o'clock on the morning of the eighth (December 7, 5 p. m., Washington time) the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs asked him to call at his official residence; that the Foreign Minister handed the Ambassador a memorandum dated December 8 (December 7, Washington time) the text of which had been transmitted to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington to be presented to the American Government (this was the memorandum which was delivered by the Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State at 2:20 p. m. on Sunday, December 7—Monday, December 8, 4:20 a. m., Tokyo time); that the Foreign Minister had been in touch with the Emperor; and that the Emperor desired that the memorandum be regarded as the Emperor's reply to my message.

Further, the Ambassador reports, the Foreign Minister made an oral statement. Textually, the oral statement began, "His Majesty has expressed his gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President". The message further continued to the effect that, in

regard to our inquiries on the subject of increase of Japanese forces in French Indochina, His Majesty had commanded his Government to state its views to the American Government. The message concluded, textually, with the statement:

"Establishment of peace in the Pacific, and consequently of the world, has been the cherished desire of His Majesty for the realization of which he has hitherto made his Government to continue its earnest endeavors. His Majesty trusts that the President is fully aware of this fact."

Japan's real reply, however, made by Japan's war lords and evidently formulated many days before, took the form of the attack which had already been made without warning upon our territories at various points in the Pacific.

There is the record, for all history to read in amazement, in sorrow, in horror, and in disgust!

We are now at war. We are fighting in self-defense. We are fighting in defense of our national existence, of our right to be secure, of our right to enjoy the blessings of peace. We are fighting in defense of principles of law and order and justice, against an effort of unprecedented ferocity to overthrow those principles and to impose upon humanity a regime of ruthless domination by unrestricted and arbitrary force.

Other countries, too—a host of them—have declared war on Japan. Some of them were first attacked by Japan, as we have been. China has already been valiantly resisting Japan in an undeclared war forced upon her by Japan. After four and one-half years of stubborn resistance, the Chinese now and henceforth will fight with renewed confidence and confirmed assurance of victory.

All members of the great British Commonwealth, themselves fighting heroically on many fronts against Germany and her Allies, have joined with us in the Battle of the Pacific as we have joined with them in the Battle of the Atlantic.

All but three of the governments of nations overrun by German armies have declared war

on Japan. The other three are severing relations.

In our own hemisphere many of our sister republics have declared war on Japan and the others have given firm expression of their solidarity with the United States.

The following are the countries which have to date declared war against Japan: Australia, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, New Zealand, Panama, El Salvador, South Africa, United Kingdom, Poland.

These and other peace-loving countries will be fighting as are we, first, to put an end to Japan's program of aggression and, second, to make good the right of nations and of mankind to live in peace under conditions of security and justice.

The people of this country are totally united in their determination to consecrate our national strength and manpower to bring conclusively to an end the pestilence of aggression and force which has long menaced the world and which now has struck deliberately and directly at the safety of the United States.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 15, 1941.

ANNEXES:

1. Senate Document 124, 67th Cong., 2d sess., which contains texts of Washington Conference Treaties and Resolutions. [Documents also printed in *Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, November 12, 1921-February 6, 1922*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1922; and H. Doc. 458, 77th Cong., 1st sess.]

2. Identic notes to the Japanese and the Chinese Governments of January 7, 1932. [*Press Releases*, January 9, 1932, p. 41.]

3. Note from the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, handed to the Secretary of State by the Japanese Ambassador on February 21, 1934. [*Ibid.*, March 24, 1934, p. 160.]

4. Reply thereto, handed to the Japanese Ambassador by the Secretary of State on March 3, 1934. [*Ibid.*, p. 161.]

5. Statement by the American Ambassador to Japan to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, April 29, 1934. [*Ibid.*, May 5, 1934, p. 244.]

6. List of American nationals killed or wounded by Japanese forces in China since July 7, 1937. [H. Doc. 458, 77th Cong., 1st sess., p. 53.]

7. List of American property in China reported to have been damaged, destroyed, or seriously endangered by Japanese air bombing or air machine-gunning since July 7, 1937. [H. Doc. 458, 77th Cong., 1st sess., p. 54.]

8. List of American nationals reported to have been assaulted, arbitrarily detained, subjected to indignities, etc., since July 7, 1937, by Japanese authorities or agents. [H. Doc. 458, 77th Cong., 1st sess., p. 63.]

9. List of Japanese interferences with American trade and enterprise in China. [H. Doc. 458, 77th Cong., 1st sess., p. 72.]

10. Document handed by the Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador on October 2, 1941. [*Post*, p. 537.]

11. Document handed to the Secretary of State by the Japanese Ambassador on November 20, 1941. [*Post*, p. 540.]

12. Document handed by the Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador on November 26, 1941. [*Bulletin* of December 13, 1941, p. 461.]

13. Memorandum addressed by the President to the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State, copy of which, under authorization of the President, was read and handed by the Under Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador on December 2, 1941. [*Post*, p. 540.]

14. Reply thereto, handed to the Secretary of State by the Japanese Ambassador on December 5, 1941. [*Bulletin* of December 13, 1941, p. 464.]

15. Personal message from the President to the Emperor of Japan of December 6, 1941. [*Ibid.*]

16. Document handed by the Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State on December 7, 1941. [*Ibid.*, p. 466.]

[Released to the press December 15]

The text of the document handed by the Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador, on October 2, 1941, referred to as item 10 in the annexes to the President's message to Congress of December 15, 1941, follows:

"Reference is made to the proposals of the Japanese Government communicated on September 6, 1941, by the Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State, and to statements relating thereto subsequently communicated to this Government by the Japanese Government.

"Thoughtful study has been given to the communications to which reference is made, and in connection with that study careful review has been made of other communications previously received from the Japanese Government on the same subject. On the basis of this study observations are offered as follows:

"The Government of the United States welcomed, as affording a possible opportunity for furthering the broad-gauge objectives and principles of a program of peace, the Japanese Government's suggestions made through its Ambassador here in the early part of August that there be held a meeting of the responsible heads of the Japanese Government and of the Government of the United States to discuss means for bringing about an adjustment of relations between the United States and Japan and that there be resumed the informal conversations which had been in progress between the two countries to ascertain whether there existed a basis for negotiations relative to a peaceful settlement covering the entire Pacific situation.

"Accordingly, in the reply made by the President on August 17, 1941, to the Japanese Ambassador the view was expressed that such informal conversations would naturally envisage the working out of a progressive program attainable by peaceful means; that such a program would involve the application in the entire Pacific area of the principle of equality of commercial opportunity and treatment, thus making possible access by all countries to raw materials and to all other essential commodities, and there were described the advantages which

would flow to all countries, including Japan, from the adoption of such a program. In conclusion, it was stated that if the Japanese Government were in position to embark upon a peaceful program for the Pacific along the lines of the program and principles to which the United States is committed, this Government would be prepared to consider resumption of the informal exploratory discussions and would be glad to endeavor to arrange a suitable time and place to exchange views.

"In the light of the broad purposes and fundamental principles which this Government holds, it was gratifying to the President and the Government of the United States to receive the message of the Prime Minister and the statement of the Government of Japan on August 28, 1941, containing statements expressing Japan's desire and intent to pursue courses of peace in harmony with the fundamental principles to which the people and Government of the United States are committed. In its statement the Japanese Government gave, with some qualifications, broad assurances of its peaceful intent, including a comprehensive assurance that the Japanese Government has no intention of using without provocation military force against any neighboring nation. The Japanese Government declared that it supported the program and principles which had been briefly outlined by the President not only as applicable to the Pacific area but also as a program for the entire world.

"The Government of the United States, while desiring to proceed as rapidly as possible with consideration of arrangements for a meeting between the heads of state, felt it desirable, in order to assure that that meeting would accomplish the objectives in view, to clarify the interpretation of certain principles and the practical application thereof to concrete problems in the Pacific area. It has not been the purpose of this Government to enter into a discussion of details; this Government has felt, however, that the clarification sought would afford a means of expediting our effort to arrive at a meeting of minds.

"On September 3, 1941, the President in giving

reply to the Japanese Ambassador expressed the earnest desire of the Government of the United States to collaborate in efforts to make effective in practice the principles to which the Japanese Government made reference. The President reiterated the four principles regarded by this Government as the foundation upon which relations between nations should properly rest. Those principles are:

- "1. Respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of each and all nations.
- "2. Support of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
- "3. Support of the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity.
- "4. Non-disturbance of the *status quo* in the Pacific except as the *status quo* may be altered by peaceful means.

"The President pointed out that in order to bring about any satisfactory settlement of Pacific questions it was highly important to reach a community of view and a clear agreement upon certain points with respect to which fundamental differences of opinion between our two Governments had developed in the informal conversations; and the President requested an indication of the present attitude of the Japanese Government with regard to those fundamental questions.

"On September 6, the Prime Minister of Japan in a conversation with the American Ambassador at Tokyo stated that he subscribed fully to the four principles above mentioned.

"The foregoing developments and assurances, together with other statements made by the Japanese Government, seemed to justify this Government in concluding that the Japanese Government might be expected to adhere to and to give practical application to a broad progressive program covering the entire Pacific area. It was therefore a source of disappointment to the Government of the United States that the proposals of the Japanese Government presented by the Japanese Ambassador on September 6, 1941, which the Japanese Government apparently intended should constitute a con-

crete basis for discussions, appeared to disclose divergence in the concepts of the two Governments. That is to say, those proposals and the subsequent explanatory statements made in regard thereto serve, in the opinion of this Government, to narrow and restrict not only the application of the principles upon which our informal conversations already referred to had been based but also the various assurances given by the Japanese Government of its desire to move along with the United States in putting into operation a broad program looking to the establishment and maintenance of peace and stability in the entire Pacific area.

"As has already been said, the various broad assurances given by the Japanese Premier and the Japanese Government are highly gratifying. In putting forward its attitude of peaceful intent toward other nations, the Japanese Government qualified its assurances with certain phrases the need for which is not easily understood. It is difficult to conceive of there developing under present circumstances in any of the territories neighboring French Indochina, in Thailand or in the Soviet Union any aggressive threat or provocation to Japan. The inalienable right of self-defense is of course well recognized by all nations and there could arise in some minds a question as to just what the Japanese Government has in view in circumscribing its assurances of peaceful intent with what would seem to be unnecessary qualifying phrases.

"In the informal conversations there was tentatively arrived at a formula in regard to economic policy (Section V of the draft understanding), which provided that Japanese activity and American activity in the Pacific area shall be carried on by peaceful means and in conformity with the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations. In the Japanese Government's proposals of September 6 and in subsequent communications from the Japanese Government the commitments contained in that formula were restricted to the countries of the Southwest Pacific area (not the Pacific area as a whole). In reference to China, the Japanese Govern-

ment states that it will respect the principle of non-discrimination, but the explanation given in regard to this point would seem to be open to the implication that the Japanese Government has in mind some limitation upon the application of this principle occasioned by reasons of Japan's geographical propinquity to China.

"Obviously, it would not be likely to serve the purposes affirmed by the Japanese Government or by this Government if either the United States or Japan were to pursue one course or policy in certain areas while at the same time pursuing an opposite course or policy in other areas.

"This Government has noted the views of the Japanese Government in support of its desire to station troops for an indeterminate period in certain areas of China. Entirely apart from the question of the reasons for such a proposal, the inclusion of such a provision in the proposed terms of a peaceful settlement between Japan and China at a time when Japan is in military occupation of large areas in China is open to certain objections. For example, when a country in military occupation of territory of another country proposes to the second country the continued stationing of troops of the first country in certain areas as a condition for a peaceful settlement and thus for the withdrawal of the occupationary forces from other areas, such procedure would seem to be out of keeping with the progressive and enlightened courses and principles which were discussed in the informal conversations and thus would not, in the opinion of this Government, make for peace or offer prospects of stability.

"It is believed that a clear-cut manifestation of Japan's intention in regard to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China and French Indochina would be most helpful in making known—in particular to those who might be inclined to be critical—Japan's peaceful intentions and Japan's desire to follow courses calculated to establish a sound basis for future stability and progress in the Pacific area.

"With reference to the attitude of each country toward the European war, this Government has noted with appreciation the further step

taken by the Japanese Government to meet the difficulties inherent in this aspect of the relations between the two countries. It is believed that it would be helpful if the Japanese Government could give further study to the question of possible additional clarification of its position.

"In the exchanges of views which have taken place between the two Governments in an effort to reach an agreement in principle upon fundamental questions in order to prepare the ground for the proposed meeting of the responsible chiefs of government, this Government has endeavored to make clear that what it envisages is a comprehensive program calling for the application uniformly to the entire Pacific area of liberal and progressive principles. From what the Japanese Government has so far indicated in regard to its purposes this Government derives the impression that the Japanese Government has in mind a program which would be circumscribed by the imposition of qualifications and exceptions to the actual application of those principles.

"If this impression is correct, can the Japanese Government feel that a meeting between the responsible heads of government under such circumstances would be likely to contribute to the advancement of the high purposes which we have mutually had in mind?

"As already stated, this Government welcomed the assurances contained in the statement of the Japanese Government which accompanied the Japanese Prime Minister's message to the President of the United States that the Japanese Government subscribed to the principles which have long been advocated by this Government as the only sound basis for stable international relations. This Government believes that renewed consideration of these fundamental principles may be helpful in our effort to seek a meeting of minds in regard to the essential questions on which we seek agreement and thus lay a firm foundation for a meeting between the responsible heads of the two Governments. The subject of the meeting proposed by the Prime Minister and the objectives sought have engaged, and continue to engage, the close and active interest of the President of the

United States, and it is the President's earnest hope that discussion of the fundamental questions may be so developed that such a meeting can be held. It is also the President's hope that the Japanese Government shares the conviction of this Government that, if the Governments of Japan and of the United States are resolved to give those principles practical and comprehensive application, the two Governments can work out a fundamental rehabilitation of the relations between the United States and Japan and contribute to the bringing about of a lasting peace with justice, equity and order in the whole Pacific area."

The text of the document handed to the Secretary of State by the Japanese Ambassador on November 20, 1941, referred to as item 11 in the annexes to the President's message to Congress of December 15, 1941, follows:

"1. Both the Governments of Japan and the United States undertake not to make any armed advancement into any of the regions in the South-eastern Asia and the Southern Pacific area excepting the part of French Indo-China where the Japanese troops are stationed at present.

"2. The Japanese Government undertakes to withdraw its troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area.

"In the meantime the Government of Japan declares that it is prepared to remove its troops now stationed in the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part of the said territory upon the conclusion of the present arrangement which shall later be embodied in the final agreement.

"3. The Government of Japan and the United States shall cooperate with a view to securing the acquisition of those goods and commodities which the two countries need in Netherlands East Indies.

"4. The Governments of Japan and the United States mutually undertake to restore their commercial relations to those prevailing prior to the freezing of the assets.

"The Government of the United States shall supply Japan a required quantity of oil.

"5. The Government of the United States undertakes to refrain from such measures and actions as will be prejudicial to the endeavors for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China."

The text of a memorandum addressed by the President to the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State, a copy of which, under authorization of the President, was read and handed by the Under Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador on December 2, 1941, is printed below. This document is referred to as item 13 in the annexes to the President's message to Congress of December 15, 1941.

"I have received reports during the past days of continuing Japanese troop movements to southern Indochina. These reports indicate a very rapid and material increase in the forces of all kinds stationed by Japan in Indochina.

"It was my clear understanding that by the terms of the agreement—and there is no present need to discuss the nature of that agreement—between Japan and the French Government at Vichy that the total number of Japanese forces permitted by the terms of that agreement to be stationed in Indochina was very considerably less than the total amount of the forces already there.

"The stationing of these increased Japanese forces in Indochina would seem to imply the utilization of these forces by Japan for purposes of further aggression, since no such number of forces could possibly be required for the policing of that region. Such aggression could conceivably be against the Philippine Islands; against the many islands of the East Indies; against Burma; against Malaya or either through coercion or through the actual use of force for the purpose of undertaking the occupation of Thailand. Such new aggression would, of course, be additional to the acts of aggression already undertaken against China, our attitude towards which is well known, and has been repeatedly stated to the Japanese Government.

"Please be good enough to request the Japanese Ambassador and Ambassador Kurusu to inquire at once of the Japanese Government what the actual reasons may be for the steps already taken, and what I am to consider is the policy of the Japanese Government as demonstrated by this recent and rapid concentration of troops in Indochina. This Government has seen in the last few years in Europe a policy on

the part of the German Government which has involved a constant and steady encroachment upon the territory and rights of free and independent peoples through the utilization of military steps of the same character. It is for that reason and because of the broad problem of American defense that I should like to know the intention of the Japanese Government."

COOPERATIVE MILITARY EFFORTS BY THE DEMOCRACIES

[Released to the press by the White House December 20]

The following statement has been issued by the White House:

"For some time, as has been hitherto intimated by the President, the United States Military Mission in London and the British Joint Staff Mission in Washington have been in close contact with their opposite numbers in both places.

"This liaison will continue for a short time until the joint planning for unity of action can

be extended to Russia, China, the Netherlands, and other governments engaged in the common cause of defeating the Axis.

"Steps toward this objective are under way.

"Major General James E. Chaney and Vice Admiral Robert L. Ghormley have been representing the United States in London for some time.

"Admiral Sir Charles Little, Lieutenant-General Sir Colville Wemyss, and Air Marshal A. T. Harris have been representing Great Britain in Washington."

REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS OF BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES

[Released to the press December 18]

I

In view of the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan, Germany, and Italy and the subsequent rupture of diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, the United States has relinquished the representation of foreign interests in the countries indicated in the list printed below. The representation of such interests has been entrusted provisionally to the Government of Switzerland.

1. American Legation, Sofia:

- (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
- (b) Canada
- (c) New Zealand
- (d) Australia

(e) Union of South Africa

(f) Belgium

(g) Netherlands

(h) Yugoslavia

(i) Greece

(j) Luxembourg

2. American Embassy, Berlin (covering Germany and German-occupied Poland; Bohemia; Moravia; Belgium; Netherlands; Norway; Luxembourg; Paris, for occupied France; Salonika; Belgrade):

(a) Great Britain, including India, overseas possessions and mandated territories

(b) Australia

(c) New Zealand

(d) Canada

(e) France

(f) Belgium

(g) Luxembourg

(h) Union of South Africa

2. American Emassy, Berlin—Cont.:
 - (i) Egypt
 - (j) Panama (at Brussels)
 - (k) Haiti
 - (l) Costa Rica
3. American Legation, Budapest:
 - (a) Great Britain
 - (b) Australia
 - (c) Canada
 - (d) Union of South Africa
 - (e) Belgium
 - (f) New Zealand
 - (g) Yugoslavia
 - (h) Greece (custody of property only)
4. American Embassy at Rome (covering Athens):
 - (a) Australia
 - (b) Belgium
 - (c) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (d) Canada
 - (e) Egypt
 - (f) France
 - (g) New Zealand
 - (h) Union of South Africa
 - (i) Norway
 - (j) Haiti
 - (k) Luxembourg
5. American Legation, Bucharest:
 - (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (b) Canada
 - (c) New Zealand
 - (d) Australia
 - (e) Union of South Africa
 - (f) Belgium
 - (g) Yugoslavia
 - (h) Greece
 - (i) China (informal)
6. American Consulate, Saigon:
 - (a) Belgium
 - (b) Yugoslavia
 - (c) China
 - (d) Cuba
 - (e) Portugal
7. American Consulate, Hanoi:
 - (a) Belgium
 - (b) Yugoslavia
 - (c) China
8. American Legation, Bangkok:
 - (a) Cuba
9. American Consulate, Chefoo:
 - (a) Panama
10. American Consulate, Dalren:
 - (a) Panama
11. American Consulate General, Shanghai:
 - (a) Panama

12. American Consulate General, Tientsin:
 - (a) Panama

The representation of Italian interests in Lagos, Nigeria, has been discontinued and, pending contrary instructions from the Italian Government within two weeks, the protection of these interests will be turned over to the local authorities.

II

American diplomatic and consular officers continue to represent the interests of certain countries as indicated in the list printed below.

1. American Legation, Copenhagen:
 - (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (b) Australia
 - (c) Canada
 - (d) Union of South Africa
 - (e) France
 - (f) Belgium
 - (g) New Zealand
2. American Embassy, Vichy, for occupied France and Monaco (see also paragraphs 14 to 19 inclusive):
 - (a) Australia
 - (b) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (c) Canada
 - (d) New Zealand
 - (e) Belgium
 - (f) Luxembourg
 - (g) Yugoslavia
 - (h) Haiti
3. American Embassy, Moscow:
 - (a) Great Britain (at Moscow)
4. American Legation, Helsinki:
 - (a) Belgium
 - (b) Great Britain
 - (c) New Zealand
 - (d) Canada
 - (e) Australia
 - (f) South Africa
 - (g) Yugoslavia
5. American consular offices in India:
 - (a) France
6. American Consulate, Georgetown, British Guiana:
 - (a) France
7. American Consulate, Barbados, British West Indies:
 - (a) France
8. American Consulate, Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies:
 - (a) France

9. American Consulate, Nassau, Bahamas:
 - (a) France
10. American Consulate, Colombo, Ceylon:
 - (a) France
11. American Consulate, Trinidad:
 - (a) France
12. American Consulate General, Rangoon:
 - (a) France
13. American Consulate, Aden:
 - (a) France
 - (b) Yugoslavia
14. American Consulate General, Casablanca:
 - (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (b) Canada
 - (c) New Zealand
 - (d) Belgium
 - (e) Australia
 - (f) Luxembourg (limited)
 - (g) Yugoslavia
 - (h) Egypt (passport services)
15. American Consulate, St. Pierre-Miquelon:
 - (a) Yugoslavia
16. American Consulate General, Algiers:
 - (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (b) Canada
 - (c) New Zealand
 - (d) Australia
 - (e) Belgium
 - (f) Luxembourg
 - (g) Yugoslavia
 - (h) Panama
17. American Consulate, Tunis:
 - (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (b) Canada
 - (c) New Zealand
 - (d) Australia
 - (e) Belgium
 - (f) Yugoslavia
18. American Consulate, Martinique:
 - (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (b) Canada
 - (c) New Zealand
 - (d) Australia
 - (e) Belgium
 - (f) Yugoslavia
19. American Consulate, Dakar:
 - (a) Great Britain, including overseas possessions
 - (b) Canada
 - (c) New Zealand
 - (d) Australia
 - (e) Belgium
 - (f) Yugoslavia
20. American Legation, Stockholm:
 - (a) Costa Rica

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III

American interests in Bulgaria, Germany and German-occupied territories, Hungary, Italy and Italian-occupied territories, Japan, and Rumania have been entrusted to the Government of Switzerland.

With regard to representation of United States interests in territories occupied by Japan, Switzerland has also been requested to undertake this representation. Switzerland has expressed its willingness to do so subject to Japanese assent. However, the Department has not yet been informed that the Japanese have accepted Swiss representation for American interests in Japanese-occupied territories.

IV

Bulgarian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, and Rumanian interests in the United States are being represented by the countries listed below.

<i>Belligerents</i>	<i>Country representing interests of belligerents</i>
Bulgaria	Switzerland
Germany	Switzerland
Hungary	Sweden
Italy	Switzerland
Japan (in the United States)	Spain
Japan (in the Commonwealth of the Philippines and the Samoan Islands)	Switzerland
Japan (in Hawaii)	Sweden
Rumania	Sweden

CZECHOSLOVAK PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF WAR

[Released to the press December 18]

The Department has been informed by the American Minister in London accredited to the Czechoslovak Provisional Government that he has received a note dated December 16, 1941 from the Czechoslovak Acting Foreign Minister enclosing a decree issued by President Beneš on December 16 which proclaimed that the Czechoslovak Republic is in a state of war with all countries which are in a state of war with Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., or the United States of America.

TAKING OVER BY THE UNITED STATES OF FRENCH VESSEL "NORMANDIE"

[Released to the press December 16]

Negotiations have been under way with the French Government for the purchase by this Government of the merchant vessel *Normandie*. The French Government expressed a willingness to sell it, but the conditions for payment attached to the proposal have been rendered impracticable by the entry of this country into war.

The Maritime Commission is taking over the *Normandie* on December 16 under existing law.

Fair and adequate compensation will be made to the owners.

This action is similar to that taken by this Government in the cases of the Swedish vessel *Kungsholm* and vessels of other friendly powers.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEUTRALITY BY THE VICHY GOVERNMENT

[Released to the press December 20]

The American Ambassador at Vichy has reported that the French Government under Marshal Pétain has announced its intention of maintaining an attitude of neutrality in the present conflict.

PROTECTION OF OFFICIALS AND NATIONALS OF COUNTRIES AT WAR

EMBASSY STAFFS AND PRESS CORRESPONDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, GERMANY, ITALY, AND HUNGARY

[Released to the press December 17]

The United States Government has been guided in its attitude toward the representatives of the powers with which it is now at war in accordance with the rules of international law and on the basis of reciprocity.

The United States Government has now decided to move the members of the German Embassy staff to a comfortable hotel in another locality. Pending the departure to this locality, members of the German Embassy have been requested to confine themselves to their Embassy building. It might be noted in this connection that the German Government has moved the members of the American Embassy staff out of Berlin and placed them in a comfortable hotel in another locality. German correspondents who are still in custody pending an investigation will accompany the German Embassy staff and will be lodged with them.

Members of the Legation of Hungary will be assembled in a comfortable hotel in the same locality. The consuls of Hungary in the United States will be assembled at the same hotel with the members of the Hungarian Legation.

The members of the Japanese Embassy have been requested to confine themselves to the

premises of their Embassy. Members of the Japanese Consulates in the United States will be assembled at a hotel in a locality to be determined. Japanese correspondents still in custody pending an investigation are being placed in a comfortable hotel. These measures will contribute to the better protection of the Japanese officials and nationals involved.

The above steps are a part of the process for a reciprocal exchange of American officers abroad.

[Released to the press December 19]

The German Embassy staff and German correspondents are being concentrated pending their departure from the United States at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. The American Embassy staff and American correspondents in Germany have been concentrated in Bad Nauheim.

The staff of the Hungarian Legation will also be concentrated at White Sulphur Springs together with the consuls of Hungary in the United States.

Japanese consular staffs throughout the United States will be concentrated at Hot Springs, Va., pending their departure from the United States.

[Released to the press December 19]

The following American citizens are employed at the Embassies at Berlin and Rome in addition to those listed in the *Bulletin* of December 13, 1941, page 517:

Embassy at Berlin:

Asendorf, Mrs. Signe Christine, of Portland, Oreg.
Hausmann, Margaret Paula, of New York, N. Y.

Embassy at Rome:

Bell, Harold S., of New York, N. Y.
Carlinfanti, Mrs. Elisabetta, of Somerville, N. J.
Perkins, Reginald E., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

[Released to the press December 18]

The Department has received through the Swiss Foreign Office a message, dated December 11, from Mr. Joseph C. Grew, former American Ambassador in Tokyo, stating that on December 8 the entire personnel of the American Embassy at Tokyo were assembled at the Embassy compound, that Ambassador and Mrs. Grew had furnished quarters for nine members of the Embassy staff, and that the others had been housed in the two Embassy apartments and in the chancery. It was reported that bedding had been brought from their homes and that everyone was installed as well as possible. It was stated that food supplies were adequate and that all were in good health.

Mr. Otis W. Rhoades, of Frederick, Md., American Vice Consul at Kobe, was also reported to be housed in the Embassy compound.

AMERICANS IN THE FAR EAST

[Released to the press December 19]

In a telegram dated December 18, Consul Edward E. Rice, of Foochow, China, reported to the Department that Foochow was quiet, that he and his staff were unharmed, and that all Americans were safe. Mr. Rice is a native of Saginaw, Mich.

The American Consulate General at Singapore reported on December 17 that Mr. Robert B. Streeper, American Consul at Penang, had been authorized in his discretion to leave his post and that he was understood to be en route to Singapore. It was further stated that no casualties had been reported among the American residents of Malaya.

[Released to the press December 20]

In a telegram dated December 16 the Consulate General at Rangoon reported to the Department that the following 11 American evacuees from Thailand had arrived in the Shan States en route to Rangoon: The Reverend Mr. Wells, wife, and two children; the Reverend Mr. Halliday, wife, and two children; Mrs. Park; Miss McKinley; and D. G. Berigan.

In a telegram dated December 19 the Consulate General at Singapore reported the safe arrival in that city of Mr. Robert B. Streeper, American Consul at Penang. Mr. Streeper is a native of Columbus, Ohio.

SOLIDARITY OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

DECLARATIONS OF WAR AND SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS BY THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS WITH THE AXIS POWERS AND MESSAGES OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES

[Released to the press December 15-19]

The following communications illustrate the solidarity of the American republics with the United States now that it is at war with Japan, Germany, and Italy:

Argentina

The American Ambassador at Buenos Aires, Argentina, reported on December 13, 1941 the

issuance on that date by the Argentine Government of a decree declaring that the United States is not considered as a belligerent by Argentina in the state of war existing between the United States and Germany and Italy. The decree stated:

"In view of the communications received from the Embassies of the United States of America,

Germany and Italy regarding the state of war existing among these nations, considering the terms of the decree issued by this government by a general ministerial resolution of the 9th instant in view of the war into which that American country has been drawn as a result of the aggression carried out against it and in accordance with the declarations and agreements applicable to the case under the terms of which the Argentine position is defined within principles of continental unity, the Vice President of the Argentine Nation exercising executive power decrees—Article 1: The position established by decree on the 9th instant is hereby extended to the state of war existing between the United States of America and Germany and Italy in so far as it declares that the Republic does not consider the United States of America in the situation of a belligerent country and there are hereby applied to Germany and Italy the provisions of the decree of neutrality issued through a ministerial resolution on September 4th, 1939.”

On December 17, 1941 Secretary Hull sent the following telegraphic message to the American Ambassador at Buenos Aires:

“Please inform the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the Government of the United States is sincerely appreciative of the action of the Government of Argentina in the issuance of an official decree, in amplification of the decree of December 9, extending to the state of war existing between the United States of America and Germany and Italy the declaration that the Government of Argentina does not consider the United States of America to be in the situation of a belligerent country. The Government of the United States considers this practical cooperative action to be an extremely useful and concrete expression of inter-American solidarity.”

Colombia

The American Ambassador at Bogotá, Colombia, reported on December 13, 1941 the passage by the Colombian Congress and the signature by President Santos on that day of a bill granting emergency powers to the Executive “in

order to take the measures which may be indispensable in international or internal matters for the loyal and complete maintenance of the policy of inter-American solidarity and cooperation in accordance with previous engagements of the nation”.

A translation of a telegram dated December 13, 1941 from the President of Colombia to the President of the United States follows:

“Ambassador Braden has officially advised me that as the Governments of Germany and Italy have formally declared war on the Government and people of the United States, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States have declared a state of war with these governments. In these circumstances Excellency I wish to renew directly to Your Excellency the resolution of the Government and people of Colombia already expressed by its constitutional organs that it is clearly and constantly faithful to the principles and rules of inter-American solidarity and cooperation which constitute an essential part of our international policy. These principles and rules are freely accepted by us with all the consequences in a spirit of firm friendship for the great country whose destinies are directed by Your Excellency with such great nobility and with which all America unites in this decisive struggle for the security and high destinies of the continent for the ideals of liberty and democracy on which the present and future of a free America are based.

EDUARDO SANTOS
President of Colombia”

On December 17, 1941 President Roosevelt sent the following reply to President Santos:

“I acknowledge with sincere and heartfelt thanks Your Excellency’s message expressing the solidarity of your Government and people with the Government and people of the United States in this grave hour. It is particularly heartening to receive this message from the President of a country so distinguished for its love of liberty and devotion to democracy. The struggle which confronts free nations and free

men everywhere is a severe one; the profound faith which you have so eloquently expressed in the principles and obligations upon which inter-American solidarity and cooperation are based will be an important factor in the final victory.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

The American Ambassador at Bogotá, Colombia, informed the Department that at 11 o'clock on December 19 the Foreign Minister officially notified the German and Italian Ministers that diplomatic and consular relations were severed at that time.

Dominican Republic

The Secretary for Foreign Relations of the Dominican Republic on December 12 addressed a telegram to Secretary Hull, a translation of which follows:

"I have the honor to state to Your Excellency that by reason of a new aggression of totalitarian imperialism in the declaration by Germany and Italy of war against the United States of America the Dominican Government in accordance with the unanimous sentiments of the nation has decided once more to act in solidarity with the Government and noble people of America and to this end has declared war against the German Reich and the Kingdom of Italy [on December 11] so as to contribute in union with your great democracy to the defense of the noble ideals of liberty on which repose our democratic institutions and that of the most sacred principles of humanity. With sentiments of the most distinguished consideration."

Secretary Hull on December 14, 1941 replied as follows:

"I have received your eloquent message informing me that a state of war exists between Your Excellency's Government and the German and Italian aggressors. At the same time that I thank you for transmitting this information to me, I wish to emphasize the appreciation which the Government and people of the United States feel for this concrete act of friendship and solidarity. Please accept my most cordial personal greetings."

On December 15, 1941 President Roosevelt addressed the following telegram to President M. de J. Troncoso de la Concha of the Dominican Republic:

"DECEMBER 15, 1941.

"Your Excellency's message that the Dominican Government has declared war against Germany and Italy, and that it will contribute its resources to the common defense of the continent, is most encouraging and is deeply appreciated.

"The democratic ideals and the moral values which we hold dear will redouble the strength of our forces in this struggle against the attempts of the Axis powers to extend to this Hemisphere their regime of terror and of tyranny.

"I send you my warm personal greetings.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

El Salvador

On December 15, 1941 Secretary Hull addressed the following telegram to Minister of Foreign Affairs Araujo of El Salvador:

"I have had the honor to receive Your Excellency's kind message informing me that the Republic of El Salvador has declared itself in a state of war with Germany and Italy. This further demonstration of the solidarity of El Salvador with the United States in the defense of democratic principles and of this hemisphere is profoundly appreciated by the Government of the United States. I renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration."

Guatemala

On December 15, 1941 Secretary Hull addressed the following telegram to Minister of Foreign Affairs Salazar of Guatemala:

"I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's kind message informing me that Guatemala has declared that a state of war exists with Germany and Italy. This further demonstration of the determination of Guatemala to uphold the principle of American solidarity and defense will provide a further inspiration to the people of

the United States in the struggle to which we are jointly pledged. Please accept the renewed assurances of my highest consideration."

Haiti

The American Chargé d'Affaires at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, reported on December 12, 1941 that, in his proclamation of war against Italy and Germany issued on that day, President Lescot stated:

"The cause of the United States of America is ours and must be that of the entire American continent. All the republics of this hemisphere must unite as one against those who seek only to suppress human liberties."

Honduras

On December 13, 1941 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras addressed a telegram to Secretary Hull, a translation of which follows:

"I have the honor to advise Your Excellency that the National Congress of Honduras at the request of the executive power, by decree dated today [December 12], has declared war on the Government of the German Reich and Italy. I avail myself of the opportunity to repeat to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest esteem."

On December 17, 1941 Secretary Hull sent the following telegram to Minister of Foreign Affairs Aguirre of Honduras:

"I have received your kind message informing me that Honduras has declared war on Germany and Italy. Please accept my sincere thanks for this gratifying information which is another heartening token of the friendship of the Honduran people for the people of the United States. I reiterate to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration."

Mexico

On December 13, 1941 Secretary Hull transmitted the following message to the Mexican

Foreign Minister in reply to the latter's telegram of December 11:¹

"I have the honor to thank Your Excellency most sincerely for informing me by telegram that Mexico has severed relations with Germany and Italy as a consequence of their declarations of war against the United States of America.

"I desire again to express the pride of my countrymen in their good friend and neighbor Mexico, whose prompt and decisive steps in the face of wanton aggression are of transcendental importance to the future of our hemisphere.

"Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration."

Peru

On December 13, 1941 President Roosevelt addressed the following telegram to President Prado of Peru:

"Please accept my profound gratitude for the generous message which Your Excellency sent me when you received official information concerning the declaration against the United States made by Germany and Italy. The Government and people of the United States will long remember the whole-hearted support to which you pledge Peru in support, in this hour of crisis, of the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. Your Excellency's leadership as well as your faith in the democratic ideal is a strong bulwark in this emergency.

"With best wishes for Your Excellency's personal well-being."

Uruguay

In response to a message from the Colorado Party of Uruguay to President Roosevelt, the American Ambassador at Montevideo was on December 17, 1941 directed to convey to Señor Eduardo Blanco Acevedo, president of the National Executive Committee of the Colorado Party, the following message from President Roosevelt:

"Please accept my profound thanks for your sympathetic message informing me of the soli-

¹ *Bulletin* of December 13, 1941, p. 498.

darity of the National Executive Committee of the Colorado Party with the people and Government of the United States in this emergency. Your adherence to our cause is yet another evidence of the whole-hearted disposition of the Uruguayan people to cooperate in the defense of those principles of freedom and democracy which are shared by our two countries."

Venezuela

The American Ambassador at Caracas, Venezuela, reported on December 13, 1941 that President Medina of Venezuela on the previous day had issued a decree which referred to declarations XII and XV of the Habana Conference of 1940 and had stated that no application would be made by Venezuela, in the case of American states at war with non-American states, of the rules of neutrality laid down by the Venezuelan Government on September 12, 1939. These rules applied to the treatment of belligerent vessels in Venezuelan ports, territorial waters, and aerial space, etc. The decree also stated that the rules established in the Hague Convention of 1907 would not be applicable with respect to American states.

[Released to the press December 15]

A recapitulation of the action taken by the various American republics in support of the United States in its struggle with Japan, Germany, and Italy follows:

Argentina

The Argentine Government informed the United States Government on December 9 that it was disposed to adjust itself to the principles of inter-American solidarity as contemplated by declaration XV of the Habana Conference. On December 9 the Argentine Government issued a decree declaring the United States not to be in the position of a belligerent country so far as Argentine neutrality laws were concerned. Another decree issued on December 13 stated that the United States would not be considered a belligerent by Argentina in its war with Germany and Italy.

Bolivia

In a telegram addressed to Secretary Hull on December 8 the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs condemned the unjustifiable Japanese aggression against the United States and gave assurances that Bolivia would fulfill its obligations of continental solidarity. On December 10 President Peñaranda issued a decree signed by his entire Cabinet declaring Bolivian solidarity with the United States and with all American countries at war with Japan. The decree stated that Bolivia would not consider as belligerent any American country at war in defense of its rights. The decree froze Japanese credits in Bolivia.

Brazil

President Vargas in a telegram sent to President Roosevelt on December 8 stated that he and his Cabinet had unanimously resolved to declare its solidarity with the United States in accordance with its traditions in line with its continental obligations.

Chile

In a telegram addressed to President Roosevelt on December 10, Vice President Mendez of Chile said that the Chilean Cabinet had unanimously decided to issue a decree declaring non-belligerent the United States and other American nations which have or may declare war in the present conflict. The decree declared Chilean adherence to the United States and stated that Chile was ready to comply with all its obligations relating to continental defense.

Colombia

The Colombian Government informed the United States on December 8 that the Japanese attack represented a clear case of aggression as foreseen in resolution XV of the Habana Conference. On that day Colombia broke diplomatic relations with Japan and reaffirmed its adhesion to the policy of inter-American solidarity and cooperation. The Colombian Government declared that it would cooperate in continental defense and in the defense of the

Panama Canal. On December 19, Colombia broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy.

Costa Rica

The Costa Rican Congress declared war on Japan by a unanimous resolution of Congress on December 8 and on Germany and Italy on December 11.

Cuba

By a unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, Cuba declared war on Japan on December 9 and on Germany and Italy on December 11.

Dominican Republic

Japan on December 8 and on Germany and

The Dominican Republic declared war on Italy on December 11.

Ecuador

On December 8 the Ecuadoran Government informed the United States Government that Ecuador was prepared to comply with all of its inter-American obligations. In a message to President Roosevelt on December 9, President Arroyo del Rio declared Ecuador's solidarity and sympathy with the United States.

El Salvador

By a unanimous vote of the Legislative Assembly El Salvador declared war on Japan on December 8 and on Germany and Italy on December 13.

Guatemala

On December 8 Guatemala declared war on Japan and, on December 11, on Germany and Italy by a unanimous vote of the National Assembly.

Haiti

On December 8 President Lescot of Haiti declared war on Japan with the unanimous approval of the National Assembly and on Germany and Italy on December 12.

Honduras

Honduras declared war on Japan on December 8 and on Germany and Italy on December 12, by a unanimous vote of the Honduran Congress.

Mexico

On December 8 the Mexican Government issued a declaration condemning Japanese aggression against the United States and declaring its firm decision to adhere to its policy of inter-American solidarity and cooperation. On that day Mexico broke its diplomatic relations with Japan, and on December 11 its diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy. The Mexican Government stated it would honor its inter-American obligations and referred particularly to the resolutions of the Habana Conference of 1940.

Nicaragua

On December 11 Nicaragua declared war against Japan, Germany, and Italy.

Panama

On December 8 the Panamanian National Assembly declared war on Japan and on December 12 on Germany and Italy.

Paraguay

The Paraguayan Government issued a statement on December 10 stating that Paraguay will honor her obligations fully, considering that an American republic is the victim of unjustified aggression. The statement referred to resolution XV of the Habana Conference and expressed Paraguay's solidarity with the Government of the United States.

Peru

In a message addressed to President Roosevelt on December 7 President Prado of Peru stated that the attitude of Peru is to give the United States every assistance in measures which the United States deems necessary in order to meet the situation in the Pacific. In a message to Secretary Hull on December 7, the First Vice President of Peru expressed Peru's sincere sympathy, adherence, and wishes for the triumph of democracy.

Uruguay

In a decree issued on December 9, 1941 the Uruguayan Government condemned the Japanese aggression against the United States and said that it considered it an act of aggression

against all American states in accordance with Resolution XV of the Habana Conference of 1940. The decree declared the solidarity of Uruguay with the United States and stated that it would not consider it as a belligerent for the purposes of Uruguayan neutrality rules. On December 12 Uruguay issued a decree freezing German and Japanese credits and prohibiting Axis commercial activity in the Republic.

Venezuela

On December 8 the Venezuelan Government issued a *communiqué* stating it would honor all of its inter-American agreements and obliga-

tions in the spirit of continental solidarity. On December 9 President Medina sent a telegram to President Roosevelt reaffirming the solidarity of Venezuela with the United States and other American countries. In a telegram addressed to Secretary Hull on December 10, the Venezuelan Foreign Minister defined the Venezuelan position as "one of complete solidarity with the United States". On December 12 the Venezuelan Government issued a decree stating that no application would be made by Venezuela in the case of American states at war with non-American states of the rules of neutrality laid down by the Venezuelan Government.

DECLARATIONS OF WAR BY BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES

[Released to the press December 15]

The following table sets forth declarations of war, recognitions of the existence of a state of war, etc., beginning in September 1939. In addition to the cases enumerated below of declarations of war or of the names of countries at war, there are some instances of proclamations by

governors of the various units of the British Empire and of colonial possessions of the Netherlands of the existence of a state of war with Germany, Italy, Japan, or more than one of these. It may be stated that not all the texts of official declarations are as yet available in the Department of State.

Countries	Statement	Source
Germany and France-----	"As a consequence of the aggression directed by Germany against Poland, a state of war is found to exist between France and Germany, commencing from September 3, 1939, 5 p.m."	Note addressed to foreign powers by the French Government on Sept. 3, 1939. Printed, in French, in the <i>Journal Officiel de la République Française, Lois et Décrets</i> , Sept. 4, 1939, p. 11086.
Germany and Poland-----	No record of a formal declaration of war has been found.	
Germany and United Kingdom---	"... unless not later than 11 a.m. British Summer Time, today 3rd September, satisfactory assurances to the above effect [that the German Government 'had suspended all aggressive action against Poland and were prepared promptly to withdraw their forces from Polish territory'] have been given by the German Government and have reached His Majesty's Government in London, a state of war will exist between the two countries as from that hour."	Telegraphic instruction from the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the British Ambassador to Germany. This instruction and the Prime Minister's speech are printed in British Command Paper 6106, Miscellaneous No. 9 (1939), entitled <i>Documents Concerning German-Polish Relations and the Outbreak of Hostilities Between Great Britain and Germany on September 3, 1939 (a British "Blue Book")</i> , pp. 175, 178.

Countries	Statement	Source
Germany and United Kingdom— Continued.	"No such undertaking was received by the time stipulated, and, consequently, this country is at war with Germany."	British Prime Minister, in his speech of September 3, 1939 in the House of Commons.
Germany and India-----	"I, Victor Alexander John, Marquess of Linlithgow, Governor-General of India and <i>ex-officio</i> Vice-Admiral therein, being satisfied thereof by information received by me, do hereby proclaim that war has broken out between His Majesty and Germany."	Proclamation of the Governor-General of India, dated Sept. 3, 1939. Printed in <i>The Gazette of India Extraordinary</i> , Sept. 3, 1939.
Germany and Australia-----	"... I, Alexander Gore Arkwright, Baron Gowrie, the Governor-General aforesaid, acting with the advice of the Federal Executive Council, do hereby proclaim the existence of war. "Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Commonwealth this third day of September in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine-hundred and thirty-nine and in the third year of His Majesty's reign."	Proclamation issued on Sept. 3, 1939. Printed in <i>The Commonwealth of Australia Gazette</i> , Sept. 3, 1939.
Germany and New Zealand-----	"His Excellency the Governor-General has it in command from His Majesty the King to declare that a state of war exists between His Majesty and the Government of the German Reich, and that such state of war has existed from 9:30 p. m., New Zealand standard time, on the third day of September, 1939."	Statement by the Governor-General of New Zealand. Printed in <i>The New Zealand Gazette Extraordinary</i> , Sept. 4, 1939.
Germany and Union of South Africa.	"... I do by this my Proclamation in the name and on behalf of His Majesty the King declare and make known that from this the sixth day of September, 1939, the peaceful relations between the Union and the German Reich are severed and that the Union is, for the purposes of all laws, at war with the German Reich as from the aforementioned date."	Proclamation by the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa. Printed in <i>The Union of South Africa Government Gazette Extraordinary</i> , Sept. 6, 1939.
Germany and Canada-----	"Now Therefore We do hereby Declare and Proclaim that a State of War with the German Reich exists and has existed in Our Dominion of Canada as and from the tenth day of September, 1939."	Proclamation issued by the Prime Minister of Canada. Printed in <i>The Canada Gazette Extra</i> , Sept. 10, 1939.
Germany and Norway-----	No record of a formal declaration of war has been found. "On the 9th April, 1940, at 5 a. m. the German Minister in Oslo, Dr. Bräuer, came to the Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and presented to the Minister, Professor Koht, a number of demands from his Government."	<i>The German Aggression on Norway</i> : Authorized English translation of the White Paper issued by the Norwegian Government on Apr. 14, 1940; published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1940, pp. 1, 5.

Countries	Statement	Source
Germany and Norway—Con.	<p>"When Professor Koht had informed the Government [of Norway] of the contents of the German proposals or demands, they very quickly decided that no independent country could accept such demands. Professor Koht then informed the German Minister of his Government's decision and reminded him of a statement recently made by the German Führer, that a people who humbly submitted to an aggressor without the slightest resistance did not deserve to exist. And we, continued Professor Koht, will maintain and defend our independence."</p> <p>"The Nygaardsvold [Premier of Norway] Government through its proclamations and conduct as well as the military fighting that is taking place as a result of its will has created a state of war between Norway and the German Reich."</p>	<p>Translation of the decree of the Führer for the Exercising of Governmental Authority in Norway, April 24, 1940, <i>Reichsgesetzblatt</i>, Teil 1, No. 74, p. 677 (Apr. 26, 1940).</p>
Germany and Belgium-----	No record of a formal declaration of war has been found.	
Germany and Luxembourg-----	No record of a formal declaration of war has been found.	
Germany and the Netherlands----	"Acting upon telegraphic instructions received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs at The Hague, through the intermediacy of the Netherlands Minister in London, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that a state of war exists between the Netherlands and Germany." (May 10, 1940.)	Note of May 10, 1940 from the Minister of the Netherlands at Washington to the Secretary of State. (Files of the Department of State.)
Italy, and France and United Kingdom.	<p>"Today at 4:30 P.M. [11:30 A.M., New York time]* Count Ciano, at Chigi Palace, told the Ambassador of France that His Majesty the King and Emperor of Italy declares that Italy considers herself at war with France, beginning tomorrow, June 11 [1940].</p> <p>"At 4:45 P.M. Count Ciano called the Ambassador of Great Britain and handed him a statement couched in identical terms saying that Italy considers she is at a state of war with Great Britain."</p>	<p>Translation of a <i>communiqué</i> by the Italian Government. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i>, June 11, 1940, p. 2.</p>
Italy and Canada-----	"Now, Therefore, we do hereby declare and proclaim that a State of War with Italy exists and has existed in Our Dominion of Canada as and from the tenth day of June, 1940."	Proclamation issued by the Prime Minister of Canada. Printed in <i>The Canada Gazette Extra</i> , June 11, 1940.

* Brackets in *New York Times*.

Countries	Statement	Source
Italy and New Zealand-----	"Prime Minister Peter Fraser stated today that New Zealand was at war with Italy from 10:30 A.M., New Zealand time (7 P.M. Monday, New York time)."	An Associated Press despatch bearing a New Zealand date line, June 11, 1940. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , June 11, 1940, p. 2.
Italy and Australia-----	"... a state of war exists between His Majesty the King and the King of Italy as from 9 o'clock in the forenoon, reckoned according to standard time in the Australian Capital Territory, of 11th June, 1940."	Notification issued by the Prime Minister of Australia. Printed in <i>The Commonwealth of Australia Gazette, Special</i> , June 11, 1940.
Italy and Union of South Africa.	"... I do by this my Proclamation, in the name and on behalf of His Majesty the King, declare and make known that from this, the eleventh day of June, 1940, the peaceful relations between the Union and Italy are severed and that the Union is, for the purposes of all laws, at war with Italy as from the aforementioned date."	Proclamation by the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa. Printed in <i>The Union of South Africa Government Gazette Extraordinary</i> , June 12, 1940.
Italy and Greece-----	"... a state of war exists in Greece since October 28th of this year at 5:30 a. m. at which time Italy launched an unexpected attack against Greece."	Translation of a note of Nov. 11, 1940 from the Greek Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Legation at Athens, as reported in a telegram of Nov. 12, 1940 from the Legation to the Department. (Files of the Department of State.)
Germany and Greece-----	No record of a formal declaration of war has been found. "The various documents issued by the Foreign Office today [April 6, 1941] avoid any statement in the nature of declaration of war against Greece with the exception of the concluding sentence of a memorandum which was attached to the note handed the Greek Minister today. The memorandum concludes with this statement: 'The Reich Government can no longer close their eyes to the fact that Greece is making common cause with Britain and must therefore be regarded as Germany's enemy in the present war with all the consequences that this entails.'"	Telegram of Apr. 6, 1941 from the American Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin. (Files of the Department of State.) The text of the memorandum which is mentioned in the telegram appears in the <i>Berliner Montagspost</i> , Apr. 7, 1941 (No. 14), pp. 3-4.
Germany and Yugoslavia-----	"Since early this morning the German people are at war with the Belgrade government . . ."	Statement made in a speech by the German Führer, Apr. 6, 1941. Printed in the <i>Berliner Montagspost</i> , Apr. 7, 1941 (No. 14), p. 2.

Countries	Statement	Source
Italy and Yugoslavia-----	<p>No record of a formal declaration of war has been found.</p> <p>"During the night of March 27 Yugoslavia . . . passed immediately over to the enemies of the Axis. The Italian Government followed with great attention and the greatest calm the events that led Yugoslavia to unite herself with Great Britain and Greece and become, like Greece, a base of operations for the British forces in Europe.</p> <p>"In the light of this fact the Italian Government has decided to move with its military, naval and aerial forces in close collaboration with those of Germany."</p>	Italian press despatch of Apr. 6, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Apr. 7, 1941, p. 2.
Bulgaria and Yugoslavia-----	<p>"At a meeting held on May 4, 1941 a resolution was passed by the Royal Yugoslav Government to the effect that, in view of the participation of Bulgaria and Hungary in the attack against Yugoslavia perpetrated by the Axis powers and in view of the participation of these countries in the dismemberment of the national territory of Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia considers itself in a state of war—with Bulgaria as from April 6, 1941 and with Hungary from April 10 of this year."</p> <p>"Bulgaria today [April 24, 1941] declared that a state of war existed in those areas of Greece and Yugoslavia occupied by Bulgarian troops."</p>	Formal statement quoted in a note of June 5, 1941 addressed to the Secretary of State by the Minister of Yugoslavia at Washington under instructions from his Government. (Files of the Department of State.)
Hungary and Yugoslavia-----	<p>"At a meeting held on May 4, 1941 a resolution was passed by the Royal Yugoslav Government to the effect that, in view of the participation of Bulgaria and Hungary in the attack against Yugoslavia perpetrated by the Axis powers and in view of the participation of these countries in the dismemberment of the national territory of Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia considers itself in a state of war—with Bulgaria as from April 6, 1941 and with Hungary from April 10 of this year."</p> <p>"Bulgaria today [April 24, 1941] declared that a state of war existed in those areas of Greece and Yugoslavia occupied by Bulgarian troops."</p>	<p>Press despatch from Sofia, Bulgaria, dated Apr. 24, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i>, Apr. 25, 1941, p. 5.</p> <p>Formal statement quoted in a note of June 5, 1941 addressed to the Secretary of State by the Minister of Yugoslavia at Washington under instructions from his Government. (Files of the Department of State.)</p>
Bulgaria and Greece-----	<p>"Bulgaria today [April 24, 1941] declared that a state of war existed in those areas of Greece and Yugoslavia occupied by Bulgarian troops."</p>	Press despatch from Sofia, Bulgaria, dated Apr. 24, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Apr. 25, 1941, p. 5.

Countries	Statement	Source
Germany and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	"At 5:30 A. M. [June 22, 1941]—that is, after the attack had already been perpetrated, Von der Schulenberg, the German Ambassador in Moscow, on behalf of his government made the statement to me as People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the effect that the German Government had decided to launch war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in connection with the concentration of Red Army units near the eastern German frontier."	Statement broadcast over the radio by the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, June 22, 1941, as translated by <i>Tass</i> , the Russian news agency. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , June 23, 1941, p. 10.
Italy and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	"For the purpose of the application of the laws in force, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is to be considered an enemy State as from 5:30 A. M., June 22, 1941-xix."	Translation of a <i>communiqué</i> issued by the Italian Presidency of the Council of Ministers. Printed in the <i>Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno D'Italia</i> , June 23, 1941 (No. 145), p. 2477.
Rumania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	No record of a formal declaration of war has been found. ". . . the Rumanian army is acting today [June 22, 1941] to liberate and recover Rumanian national patrimony overrun without justification by the unprovoked aggression of Communist Russia."	Statement issued to the press by the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires in the United States. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , June 23, 1941, p. 7.
Finland and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*	No record of a formal declaration of war has been found. "Citizens, centuries have shown that on the site on which fate has placed this nation, permanent peace cannot be achieved. The pressure of the East is always upon us. To reduce this pressure, destroy the eternal menace and secure a happy and peaceful life for coming generations, we now embark upon our defensive battle. Our confidence in our army and its Field Marshal, Baron Mannerheim, is absolute."	Translation of a statement by the President of Finland, June 26, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , June 27, 1941, p. 1.
Hungary and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	"There is a state of war between Hungary and the Soviet Union because of the aerial attacks."	Translation of a statement by the Premier and Foreign Minister of Hungary, June 27, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , June 28, 1941, p. 2.
Albania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	"Albania, an Italian protectorate, has announced she is at war with Russia, according to an official British radio report heard in New York early today by the National Broadcasting Company's station."	<i>New York Times</i> , June 29, 1941, p. 3.

*An English version of the treaty of March 12, 1940, which terminated earlier military operations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Finland, is printed on pages 453-455 of the *Bulletin* of April 27, 1940.

Countries	Statement	Source
Great Britain and Finland, Rumania, and Hungary.	"His Majesty has found it necessary to declare that a state of war exists with Finland, Hungary, and Roumania as from 1:01 a.m. today, the 7th December."	Note of December 7, 1941 from the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy at London, as reported in a telegram of December 8, 1941 from the Embassy to the Department of State. (Files of the Department of State.)
Canada and Finland, Rumania, and Hungary.	"Now, Therefore, We do hereby declare and proclaim that a State of War with Roumania, Hungary and Finland exists and has existed in Canada as and from the 7th day of December, 1941."	Proclamation issued by the Prime Minister of Canada. Printed in <i>The Canada Gazette Extra</i> , Dec. 7, 1941.
Australia and Finland, Rumania, and Hungary.	"His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia has declared the existence of a state of war between Australia and Finland (Hungary, Roumania) as from 5 p.m. December 8th, 1941, Australian Eastern Standard Time."	Formal statement quoted in a note of December 8, 1941, addressed to the Secretary of State of the United States by Australian Minister at Washington under instructions from his Government. (Files of the Department of State.)
Union of South Africa and Finland, Rumania, and Hungary.	"On instructions from my Government I have the honour to inform you that as from the 8th December, 1941, a state of war will exist between the Union of South Africa and Finland, Roumania, and Hungary . . ."	Note of December 6, 1941 from the Minister of the Union of South Africa at Washington to the Secretary of State. (Files of the Department of State.)
New Zealand and Finland, Rumania, and Hungary.	No record of New Zealand's formal declaration of war is as yet available in the Department of State.	According to information in the files of the Department of State, New Zealand is at war with Finland, Rumania, and Hungary.
Japan and the United States----	"We, by grace of Heaven, Emperor of Japan . . . hereby declare war upon the United States of America and the British Empire." [December 7, 1941.] "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; . . ."	Translation of a proclamation by the Emperor of Japan. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Dec. 9, 1941, p. 28. Public Law 328, 77th Cong., approved Dec. 8, 1941, 4:10 p. m., E.S.T.
Japan and Great Britain-----	"We, by grace of Heaven, Emperor of Japan . . . hereby declare war upon the United States of America and the British Empire." [December 7, 1941.] "The Cabinet, which met at 12:30 today [December 8, 1941], therefore authorized an immediate declaration of war upon Japan. Instructions to this effect were sent to His Majesty's Ambassador in Tokyo and a communication was dispatched to the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires at 1 o'clock today to this effect."	Translation of a proclamation by the Emperor of Japan. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Dec. 9, 1941, p. 28. Statement by the British Prime Minister December 8, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Dec. 9, 1941, p. 1.

Countries	Statement	Source
Canada and Japan-----	"Now, Therefore, We do hereby declare and proclaim that a State of War with Japan exists and has existed in Canada as and from the 7th day of December, 1941."	Proclamation issued by the Prime Minister of Canada. Printed in <i>The Canada Gazette Extra</i> , Dec. 8, 1941.
Costa Rica and Japan-----	"... the Government of Costa Rica ... has today [December 8, 1941] at eleven o'clock declared the state of war between Costa Rica and Japan. ..."	Telegram of December 9, 1941 from the Minister of Foreign Relations of Costa Rica to the Secretary of State. <i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, pp. 490-491.
Dominican Republic and Japan--	"... the Government of the Dominican Republic, ... has declared war today [December 8] on the Empire of Japan ..."	Note addressed to the Secretary of State by the Dominican Secretary of State for Foreign Relations. <i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 492.
Guatemala and Japan-----	"... Legislative Assembly of this Republic last night [December 8, 1941] declared a state of war between Guatemala and Japan ..."	Telegram of December 9, 1941 from the Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary of State. <i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 494.
Haiti and Japan-----	"President Lescot of the Republic of Haiti declared war on Japan on December 8 with the unanimous approval of the National Assembly."	<i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 495.
Honduras and Japan-----	"Honduran Congress declared war on Japan at 11:25 this morning [December 8, 1941]."	Telegram of December 8, 1941 from the American Minister at Tegucigalpa. <i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 496.
El Salvador and Japan-----	"At 1 p. m. on December 8, 1941 the National Legislative Assembly unanimously declared El Salvador in a state of war with Japan ..."	<i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 493.
Panama and Japan-----	"On December 8 [1941] the National Assembly voted resolution declaring state of war exists between Japan and Panama ..."	<i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 500.
Cuba and Japan-----	"... yesterday [December 9, 1941] the Republic of Cuba declared war on Japan."	Telegram of December 10, 1941 from the Cuban Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary of State. <i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 492.
Nicaragua and Japan-----	"The American Minister at Managua reported to the Department of State on December 11, 1941, that he had been informed that a formal declaration of war against Japan had been passed by Congress, signed by President Somoza, and would go into effect on that day."	<i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 499.
The Netherlands and Japan-----	"In view of Japan's aggression against two powers with whom the Netherlands maintain particularly close relations, aggression directly threatening vital Netherlands interests, the Government of the Kingdom considers a state of war exists between the Netherlands and the Japanese Empire. [December 8, 1941.]	Statement issued by the Netherlands Government, December 8, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Dec. 8, 1941, p. 7.

Countries	Statement	Source
The Netherlands Indies and Japan.	"The Netherlands Indies Government today [December 8, 1941] declared war on Japan . . ."	Press despatch from Batavia, Netherlands Indies, dated December 8, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Dec. 8, 1941, p. 7.
China and Japan-----	"The Chinese Government hereby formally declares war on Japan [December 9, 1941]."	Text of Chinese declaration of war on Japan. <i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 507.
Union of South Africa and Japan.	"Proclamation published December nine declares existence of state of war between South Africa and Japan from December eight."	Telegram from the American Minister at Pretoria dated December 10, 1941. (Files of the Department of State.)
New Zealand and Japan-----	"New Zealand considers itself state of war with Japan. Decision taken by War Cabinet 11 a.m."	Telegram from American Consul General at Wellington dated December 8, 1941. (Files of the Department of State.)
Australia and Japan-----	" . . . a state of war exists and has existed between His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia and the Imperial Japanese Government as from 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th December, 1941."	Note of December 9, 1941 from the Australian Minister at Washington to the Secretary of State. (Files of the Department of State.)
Free France and Japan-----	"Free France and all her territories in the Pacific are now at war with Japan. This decision emerged at a conference presided over by General de Gaulle."	Press despatch from London, dated December 8, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Dec. 9, 1941, p. 18.
Germany and the United States--	"The German Government, . . . discontinues diplomatic relations with the United States of America and declares that . . . Germany . . . as from today [December 11, 1941], considers herself as being in a state of war with the United States of America."	Note addressed by the German Reich to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, December 11, 1941. <i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, pp. 481-482.
Italy and the United States-----	<p>"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Government of Germany which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; . . ."</p> <p>"The Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, sent for the American Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. George Wadsworth, at Rome at 2:30 the afternoon of December 11, and when Mr. Wadsworth arrived at his office Count Ciano informed him that as of December 11, 1941 Italy considers itself at war with the United States."</p> <p>"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Government of Italy which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; . . ."</p>	<p>Public Law 331, 77th Cong.; approved, Dec. 11, 1941, 3:05 p.m., E.S.T.</p> <p><i>Bulletin</i> of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 482.</p> <p>Public Law 332, 77th Cong.; approved, Dec. 11, 1941, 3:06 p.m., E.S.T.</p>

Countries	Statement	Source
Costa Rica, and Germany and Italy.	"The President of Costa Rica on December 11, 1941, informed the American Minister at San José that he had on that day signed a decree declaring a state of war between Costa Rica and Germany and Italy."	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 491.</i>
Guatemala, and Germany and Italy.	"... yesterday [December 11, 1941] the Legislative Assembly issued Decree no. 2564 which declares the existence of the state of war between Guatemala and the German Reich and the Kingdom of Italy..."	Telegram of December 12, 1941 from the Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary of State. <i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 495.</i>
China, and Germany and Italy--	"The Chinese Government hereby declares that as from midnight of December 9, 1941, a state of war exists between China and Germany and between China and Italy."	Text of Chinese declaration of war on Germany and Italy. <i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 506.</i>
Cuba, and Germany and Italy---	"... the Cuban Congress passed a declaration of war upon Germany and Italy during an evening session on December 11, 1941."	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 492.</i>
Nicaragua, and Germany and Italy.	"The American Minister at Managua reported on December 11, 1941 that he had been informed by the President and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that a decree effective on that day declared war on Germany and Italy."	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 499.</i>
Haiti, and Germany and Italy---	"... the Republic of Haiti declared war on Germany and Italy on December 12, 1941."	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 495.</i>
Honduras, and Germany and Italy.	"... The National Congress of Honduras at the request of the executive power, by decree dated today [December 12, 1941], has declared war on the Government of the German Reich and Italy."	Telegram of December 13, 1941 from the Honduran Minister of Foreign Relations to the Secretary of State. <i>Ante, p. 548.</i>
Panama, and Germany and Italy.	"... acting under authority of a law voted on December 10 [1941], the Panamanian Government shortly before noon on December 12 issued a decree signed by the President and his full Cabinet declaring a state of war between Panama and Germany and Italy."	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 500.</i>
El Salvador, and Germany and Italy.	"... the National Legislative Assembly at the request of the Executive power today [December 13, 1941] declared the Republic of El Salvador in a state of war with Germany and Italy..."	Telegram of December 13, 1941 from the Salvadoran Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary of State. <i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 494.</i>
Poland and Japan-----	"... following a Cabinet meeting on December 11, 1941 the President of Poland decreed that a state of war exists between Poland and Japan as of December 11, 1941."	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 507.</i>

Countries	Statement	Source
Bulgaria, and the United States and the United Kingdom.	"... the Bulgarian Government had just declared to Parliament that in accordance with article 3 of the Tripartite Pact, Bulgaria is in a state of war with England and the United States." [December 13, 1941.]	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 483.</i>
Rumania and the United States...	"The Royal Rumanian Government . . . is in a state of war with the United States of America [December 12, 1941]."	Translation of a note of December 12, 1941 from the Rumanian Government to the American Legation at Bucharest. <i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 483.</i>
Hungary and the United States...	"The American Minister at Budapest has informed the Department that the Hungarian Prime Minister informed him at 5:30 p. m., December 13, that Hungary considers war to exist between Hungary and the United States."	<i>Bulletin of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 482.</i>
Dominican Republic, and Germany and Italy.	"... the Dominican Government . . . has declared war against the German Reich and the Kingdom of Italy . . ." [December 11, 1941.]	Telegram of December 12, 1941 from the Dominican Secretary for Foreign Relations to the Secretary of State. <i>Ante, p. 547.</i>
Czechoslovakia and other countries.	"... the American Minister at London accredited to the Czechoslovak Provisional Government . . . has received a note dated December 16, 1941 from the Czechoslovak Acting Foreign Minister enclosing a decree issued by President Beneš on December 16 which proclaimed that the Czechoslovak Republic is in a state of war with all countries which are in a state of war with Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., or the United States of America."	<i>Ante, p. 543.</i>
Albania and the United States...	"Stefani, the Italian official news agency, reported today [December 17, 1941] from Tirana that Albania had declared war on the United States."	Press despatch from Bern, Switzerland, dated December 17, 1941. Printed in the <i>New York Times</i> , Dec. 18, 1941, p. 6.

LETTER FROM FORMER CORRESPONDENT OF JAPANESE NEWS SERVICE

[Released to the press December 14]

"DECEMBER 12, 1941.

On Sunday, December 7, 1941, Mr. Clarke H. Kawakami resigned as Washington correspondent of the Domei News Agency, which he had represented as correspondent in various world capitals for the past seven years. Mr. Kawakami was born in the United States and is an American citizen. The following letter was received by newspaper colleagues of Mr. Kawakami at the Department of State:

"I want to thank you and the others of my friends in State Department press room, who were so kind as to call me up and express their sympathy, from the very bottom of my heart. The terrible suddenness of events gave me no opportunity to bid you all farewell and to tell you how much I have appreciated working with you all in friendship during the past many months. I want to do that now.

"I cannot tell you how deeply I was shocked by Japan's action. As you know, my father has spent the best part of his life working for peace between Japan and this country, and in my seven years' work for Domei I have constantly tried to do the same. It is the deepest and most painful disappointment to us now to realize that all our efforts have been in vain.

"Until the last we thought and hoped that something might still be done to avert a conflict. Now, however, it seems clear that throughout the last two months, since Tojo became premier, Japan's mind was already made up for war, and that she kept up the pretense of negotiating with this country only in order to gain time for the completion of her war preparations.

"That shameful double-dealing, coupled with the equally shameful manner in which she launched her attacks on Sunday, without warning, indicates how completely the militarists in Tokyo have gone over to the methods of Hitler and the Nazis. Not only I but my father, too, feel that these acts constitute the blackest and most shameful page in Japanese history.

"I have, in Japan, many good friends who must feel deeply and honestly ashamed of what their government has done, and who would feel even more ashamed if they had been allowed to know all the facts. I can say that we, who represented Domei here in Washington, always did our best to report the facts fully and truthfully, but in recent months I know that very little of what we reported ever came to the knowledge of the Japanese public.

"It makes me sad to think that these good Japanese friends of mine, who did not want war, will have to suffer and die in the struggle equally with those who have swallowed the murderous philosophy of Nazism and therefore welcome war with this country.

"Yet, for the sake of future Japanese generations as well as for the sake of peoples everywhere, it is necessary that this type of mili-

tarist rule which drags and drags peaceful people into war, be crushed forever, wherever it exists. It is a sad paradox that this can only be accomplished by using the same bloody methods as those we are fighting against, but in the end, if we do not let the use of these methods warp our minds into forgetting the principles and ideals for which we fought, we shall have an opportunity to build a better world for the future—better for the peoples of both victors and vanquished.

"Knowing my background and education, you can understand why I could never subscribe to that sort of blind patriotism which says, 'My country right or wrong.' That is the kind of patriotism, it seems to me, that one would expect from Germans, Japanese or some other regimented people. But because, in this war, I feel that America *is* so clearly in the right, I hope that I shall be allowed to give my services in whatever capacity I may be acceptable.

"As soon as my father, who is now being held at Gloucester City, New Jersey, is allowed to return home to the family, and as soon as I can straighten out my own financial affairs and the status of my wife, I plan to enlist in the army. Perhaps they will suspect me of being a fifth-columnist, but I hope—if need be, with the assistance of you and my other friends in the press room of the State Department—to convince them of my sincerity.

"Well, that's all I have to say, except to ask you to remember me to the people in C.I.¹ and to my friends down in the Press Room. I hope I shall have a chance to see you all again soon, but in the meanwhile let me join you in wishing most sincerely for victory and for peace when victory is won!

"Yours sincerely,

CLARKE"

¹ Division of Current Information, Department of State.

American Republics

COMPENSATION FOR PETROLEUM PROPERTIES EXPROPRIATED IN MEXICO

[Released to the press December 19]

The President has designated Mr. Morris Llewellyn Cooke, of Philadelphia, Pa., as the United States expert provided for in the notes exchanged by the Secretary of State and the Ambassador of Mexico on November 19, 1941.¹ In cooperation with the expert named by the Mexican Government, the duty of Mr. Cooke is to determine the just compensation to be paid the nationals of the United States of America whose properties, rights, or interests in the petroleum industry in Mexico were affected to their detriment by acts of the Government of Mexico subsequent to March 17, 1938.

Mr. Cooke is a consulting engineer in management. His public service has included Di-

rector of Public Works, city of Philadelphia (1911-16); Chairman, Storage Committee, Council of National Defense; Chief, Materials Branch, Emergency Fleet Corporation; Executive Assistant to Chairman, United States Shipping Board (1917-19); Director, Giant Power Survey of Pennsylvania (1925-27); Member, Power Authority, State of New York (1928-); Chairman of Mississippi Valley Committee, Water Resources Committee, and Great Plains Committee, respectively (1933-37); Chairman, Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, and Technical Consultant to Mr. Sidney Hillman, Labor Division, Office of Production Management (1940-41).

UNITED STATES ECONOMIC MISSION TO BOLIVIA

[Released to the press December 17]

At the request of the Bolivian Government, the Government of the United States has now completed arrangements for the detail to Bolivia of an Economic Mission. The Economic Mission entered officially upon its duties on December 17, 1941 when the Chief of the Economic Mission and all the other experts except one had arrived in La Paz. It is made up of eight qualified experts of the Government of the United States who will study various aspects of the Bolivian national economy in order to prepare specific projects which may be considered by the Bolivian authorities for further economic development of the country. It is expected that the Economic Mission will complete its work in June 1942.

The economic survey work in Bolivia will include: A study of the needs for development in

Bolivian communications, which it is expected will be principally highway needs; a study of the possibilities of expansion and diversification of agricultural production in Bolivia, involving both an increased degree of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and the development of certain tropical or semi-tropical products; a study of the most practicable methods for stimulating production of tin, tungsten, and certain other minerals in Bolivia, particularly by small miners; and a consideration of the practicability of measures of financial cooperation between the Government of Bolivia and the Government of the United States.

The members of the United States Economic Mission to Bolivia are as follows:

Mr. Merwin L. Bohan, Chief

Mr. Rex A. Pixley, Assistant Chief

Mr. B. H. Thibodeaux, expert of the Department of Agriculture

Mr. Wilbur A. Harlan, expert of the Department of Agriculture

¹ *Bulletin* of November 22, 1941, p. 401.

Mr. Harry P. Hart, expert of the Public Roads Administration of the Federal Works Agency

Mr. Clarence E. Mershon, expert of the Public Roads Administration of the Federal Works Agency

Mr. John Worcester, expert of the Bureau of Mines of the Department of the Interior

Mr. Ernest Oberbillig, expert of the Bureau of Mines of the Department of the Interior

These experts have been chosen for their special qualifications for carrying out the survey work, and they have all had extensive experience in their special fields of activity. Mr. Merwin L. Bohan, Chief of the Economic Mission, directing and coordinating the work of the other experts, is a Foreign Service officer of the United States who has had 15 years of experience in the study and analysis of the economic problems of the other American republics.

As an officer in the foreign service of the Department of Commerce, he served at Habana, Guatemala City, Tegucigalpa, San Salvador, Lima, Quito, and Santiago, and he made a detailed economic study of Bolivia in 1937 on a special assignment for that purpose. Since the amalgamation of the foreign service of the Department of Commerce into the present single Foreign Service of the United States, Mr. Bohan has served at Santiago and Bogotá.

It is hoped that this contribution on the part of the United States to the development of a program of economic cooperation with Bolivia will promote the strengthening of the Bolivian national economy and the increased production of strategic materials vital to hemisphere defense.

General

ONE-HUNDRED FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ADOPTION OF BILL OF RIGHTS

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT¹

[Released to the press by the White House December 15]

No date in the long history of freedom means more to liberty-loving men in all liberty-loving countries than the fifteenth day of December 1791. On that day, 150 years ago, a new nation, through an elected Congress, adopted a declaration of human rights which has influenced the thinking of all mankind from one end of the world to the other.

There is not a single republic of this hemisphere which has not adopted in its fundamental law the basic principles of freedom of man and freedom of mind enacted in the American Bill of Rights.

There is not a country, large or small, on this continent which has not felt the influence of that document, directly or indirectly.

Indeed, prior to the year 1933, the essential validity of the American Bill of Rights was

accepted at least in principle. Even today, with the exception of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the peoples of the world—in all probability four-fifths of them—support its principles, its teachings, and its glorious results.

But, in the year 1933, there came to power in Germany a political clique which did not accept the declarations of the American bill of human rights as valid: a small clique of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians whose announced and admitted platform was precisely the destruction of the rights that instrument declared. Indeed the entire program and goal of these political and moral tigers was nothing more than the overthrow, throughout the earth, of the great revolution of human liberty of which our American Bill of Rights is the mother charter.

The truths which were self-evident to Thomas Jefferson—which have been self-evident to the six generations of Americans who followed him—were to these men hateful. The

¹ December 15, 1941.

rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which seemed to Jefferson, and which seem to us, inalienable, were, to Hitler and his fellows, empty words which they proposed to cancel forever.

The propositions they advanced to take the place of Jefferson's inalienable rights were these:

That the individual human being has no rights whatever in himself and by virtue of his humanity;

That the individual human being has no right to a soul of his own, or a mind of his own, or a tongue of his own, or a trade of his own; or even to live where he pleases or to marry the woman he loves;

That his only duty is the duty of obedience, not to his God, and not to his conscience, but to Adolf Hitler; and that his only value is his value, not as a man, but as a unit of the Nazi state.

To Hitler, the ideal of the people, as we conceive it—the free, self-governing, and responsible people—is incomprehensible. The people, to Hitler, are “the masses” and the highest human idealism is, in his own words, that a man should wish to become “a dust particle” of the order “of force” which is to shape the universe.

To Hitler, the government, as we conceive it, is an impossible conception. The government to him is not the servant and the instrument of the people but their absolute master and the dictator of their every act.

To Hitler, the church, as we conceive it, is a monstrosity to be destroyed by every means at his command. The Nazi church is to be the “National Church”, “absolutely and exclusively in the service of but one doctrine, race and nation.”

To Hitler, the freedom of men to think as they please and speak as they please and worship as they please is, of all things imaginable, most hateful and most desperately to be feared.

The issue of our time, the issue of the war in which we are engaged, is the issue forced upon the decent, self-respecting peoples of the earth by the aggressive dogmas of this attempted revival of barbarism; this proposed return to

tyranny; this effort to impose again upon the peoples of the world doctrines of absolute obedience, and of dictatorial rule, and of the suppression of truth, and of the oppression of conscience, which the free nations of the earth have long ago rejected.

What we face is nothing more nor less than an attempt to overthrow and to cancel out the great upsurge of human liberty of which the American Bill of Rights is the fundamental document: to force the peoples of the earth, and among them the peoples of this continent, to accept again the absolute authority and despotic rule from which the courage and the resolution and the sacrifices of their ancestors liberated them many, many years ago.

It is an attempt which could succeed only if those who have inherited the gift of liberty had lost the manhood to preserve it. But we Americans know that the determination of this generation of our people to preserve liberty is as fixed and certain as the determination of that earlier generation of Americans to win it.

We will not, under any threat, or in the face of any danger, surrender the guaranties of liberty our forefathers framed for us in our Bill of Rights.

We hold with all the passion of our hearts and minds to those commitments of the human spirit.

We are solemnly determined that no power or combination of powers of this earth shall shake our hold upon them.

We covenant with each other before all the world, that having taken up arms in the defense of liberty, we will not lay them down before liberty is once again secure in the world we live in. For that security we pray; for that security we act—now and evermore.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR RELIEF IN BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES

[Released to the press December 19]

Pursuant to the authority vested in the President by sections 8 and 13 of the joint resolution of Congress approved November 4, 1939 and delegated to the Secretary of State by the President's Proclamation 2374 of November 4, 1939, the Secretary of State hereby issues the follow-

ing rules and regulations in addition to those issued on November 6, 1939 governing the solicitation and collection of contributions for use in France; Germany; Poland; the United Kingdom, India, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, subsequently made applicable to the solicitation and collection of contributions for use in Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The regulations hereby promulgated shall be effective as of January 1, 1942:

(17) A registrant is required to submit to the Secretary of State within 15 days after the expiration of each three-month period following the date of the acceptance of its application for registration, an audit of its accounts made by a certified public accountant licensed to practice in the state and/or community in which the

headquarters of the registrant are located, signed and sworn to by the certified public accountant by whom the audit was made. Failure on the part of a registrant to submit the audit described above within the above-mentioned time limit will constitute, in the discretion of the Secretary of State, cause for the immediate revocation of the registration.

(18) No application for registration will be accepted unless it is accompanied by a sworn statement setting forth a budget of contemplated expenditures for administrative purposes for the ensuing six-month period, together with an estimate of the total amount of contributions which the applicant has a reasonable expectation of collecting during the same period. The Secretary of State reserves the right at any time to revoke registrations in cases where the ratio of administrative expenditures to contributions collected is found to be excessive.

ALIEN VISA CONTROL

The President has appointed the Honorable Robert J. Bulkley, of Ohio, and the Honorable Frederick P. Keppel, of New York, to serve as members of the Board of Appeals on immigration cases in the Department of State. The Board will be the final court of review to advise the Secretary of State about the admission of persons to the United States from the point of view of national defense.

With the centralization of alien visa control in the Department of State, six interdepartmental committees composed of representatives of the Departments of State, War, and Navy, the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation were appointed to examine the cases of applicants for visas. Cases disapproved on primary consideration have heretofore been given an informal review by one of the interdepartmental committees.

Pursuant to regulations issued by the Departments of State and Justice¹ under the Presi-

dent's proclamation of November 14, 1941, a more formal review procedure has been set up with the appointment of three review committees of a composition similar to that of the six primary committees. The representative of the Department of State on each committee will act as chairman.

In cases where the opinion of the primary committee is not acceptable to the Secretary of State, or if the opinion is that a permit to enter should not be issued, or if any member of the committee so requests, the case shall be referred to a committee of review. An opportunity will be given to interested persons or sponsors to appear in person, or through an attorney, representative of a social-service agency, or other intermediary, to submit supplementary statements to the review committee and to answer questions addressed to him by members of the review committee. The confidential character of any information in the record shall be preserved. Cases disapproved by the review committees will be submitted to the Board of Appeals mentioned above.

¹ 6 F. R. 5929.

Cultural Relations

VISIT OF EDUCATOR FROM THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

[Released to the press December 17]

Virgilio Díaz Ordóñez, president of the University of Santo Domingo, arrived in New York early this week, accompanied by Señora Díaz Ordóñez. The eminent educator from the Dominican Republic, who has been invited to visit the United States by the Department of State, will include numerous universities in his itinerary while in this country. He is expected in Washington on Monday, December 22, to confer with officials of the Department of State in connection with his itinerary.

Virgilio Díaz Ordóñez holds three degrees, in arts and sciences, in pharmacy, and in law, from the university which he now heads. Although still in his middle forties, he has long been prominent in public affairs, having been a land-court judge, a member of the President's Cabinet with the portfolio of Justice and Fine Arts, and Legal Adviser to the President of the Republic. At present he heads the Dominican Athenaeum, the country's leading cultural institute, in addition to his duties as president of the university. In the latter capacity, he is *ex officio* a member of the Cabinet of President Troncoso of the Dominican Republic.

Dr. Díaz Ordóñez, who represented his country last month at the Congress of Intellectual Cooperation meeting at Habana, is the author of several outstanding works in prose and in verse.

The Foreign Service

PERSONNEL CHANGES

On December 19, 1941, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Spruille Braden, of New York, now Ambassador Extraordinary and

Plenipotentiary of the United States to Colombia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to Cuba.

[Released to the press December 20]

The following changes have occurred in the American Foreign Service since December 13, 1941:

Parker W. Buhrman, of Gala, Va., Consul General at Glasgow, Scotland, has been assigned as Consul General at Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Sydney B. Redecker, of Brooklyn, N. Y., now serving in the Department of State, has been assigned as Consul at São Paulo, Brazil.

Julian B. Foster, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., Commercial Attaché at Copenhagen, Denmark, has been designated as Commercial Attaché at Stockholm, Sweden.

Robert F. Fernald, of Ellsworth, Maine, Second Secretary of Embassy and Consul at Madrid, Spain, has been assigned Consul at Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Canary Islands.

Clifton R. Wharton, of Boston, Mass., Consul at Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Canary Islands, has been designated Second Secretary of Legation and Consul at Monrovia, Liberia, and will serve in dual capacity.

William E. Flournoy, Jr., of Portsmouth, Va., Second Secretary of Legation and Consul at Managua, Nicaragua, has been designated Second Secretary of Embassy and Consul at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and will serve in dual capacity.

Gordon H. Mattison, of Wooster, Ohio, Third Secretary of Legation and Vice Consul at Baghdad, Iraq, has been assigned as Vice Consul at Basra, Iraq, where an American Consulate will be established.

Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., of Chicago, Ill., Third Secretary of Legation and Vice Consul at Helsinki, Finland, has been designated Third Secretary of Legation and Vice Consul at Stockholm, Sweden, and will serve in dual capacity.

W. Stratton Anderson, Jr., of Carlinville, Ill., Vice Consul at Lagos, Nigeria, French West Africa, has been assigned as Vice Consul at Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa, where an American Consulate will be established.

Carl O. Hawthorne, of Missouri, Vice Consul at Tsinan, Shantung, China, has been appointed Vice Consul at Hamilton, Bermuda.

Walter C. Dowling, of Jesup, Ga., formerly Third Secretary of Embassy at Rome, Italy, has been designated Second Secretary of Embassy and Vice Consul at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and will serve in dual capacity.

OPENING OF NEW POSTS

[Released to the press December 15]

An American consulate is being established in the immediate future at St. Lucia, British West Indies.

[Released to the press December 19]

An American consulate is being established at Accra, Gold Coast Colony, and will be opened at the earliest date practicable.

The Department

MATTERS INVOLVING REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS OF BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES

On December 13, 1941 the Secretary of State issued the following departmental order (no. 1012):

"Departmental Order No. 810 of September 1, 1939, establishing in the Department of State a Special Division, is hereby amended to provide that the Special Division (1) shall have charge of the representation by third powers of the interests of the United States in foreign countries and all matters connected therewith; and (2) shall be vested with responsibility for supervising the representation in the United States by third powers of the interests of other governments with which the United States has severed diplomatic relations or is at war.

"Mr. Leland Harrison, Minister to Switzerland, is hereby designated temporarily to aid Assistant Secretary of State Long and will maintain contacts with the Special Division, the

political divisions and other interested divisions with respect to the activities described above and other related activities.

"Mr. Harrison's designation will be A-L/H and he will sign correspondence as 'American Minister on Special Detail'."

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

Miss Helen L. Daniel has been designated an Assistant Chief of the Office of Coordination and Review, effective December 11, 1941 (Departmental Order 1010).

Legislation

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940, To Preserve the Nationality of Naturalized Veterans of the Spanish-American War and of the World War, and of Their Wives, Minor Children, and Dependent Parents. (H. Rept. 1500, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on H.R. 5569.) 3 pp. Supplemental Appropriations for National Defense, 1942 and 1943. (H. Rept. 1501, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on H.R. 6159.) 9 pp.

Providing for the Prompt Settlement of Claims for Damages Occasioned by Army, Navy, and Marine Corps Forces in Foreign Countries. (H. Rept. 1503, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on S. 1904.) 3 pp.

Safety and Development of Commercial Aviation in Latin America, and Related Subjects. (H. Rept. 1543, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on H.Res. 125.) 32 pp.

Amending the Act Requiring Registration of Foreign Agents. (H. Rept. 1547, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on H.R. 6269.) 13 pp.

Extension of Sugar Act of 1937. (S. Rept. 907, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on H.R. 5988.) 3 pp.

Amendments to the Act of June 8, 1938, as Amended, Requiring the Registration of Agents of Foreign Principals. (S. Rept. 913, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on S. 2060.) 11 pp.

Summary of Past Policy, and of More Immediate Events, in Relation to the Pacific Area: Message From the President of the United States Transmitting a Summary of the Past Policy of This Country in Relation to the Pacific Area and of the More Immediate Events Leading up to This Japanese Onslaught Upon Our Forces and Territory. (H. Doc. 458, 77th Cong., 1st sess.) 117 pp.

Third Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Bill for 1942: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, U. S. Senate, 77th Cong., 1st sess., on H. R. 6159, A Bill Making Supple-

mental Appropriations for the National Defense for the Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1942, and June 30, 1943, and for Other Purposes. H. R. 6159. 354 pp.

Operations Under Lend-Lease Act: Message From the President of the United States Transmitting Pursuant to Law, the Third Report Under the Act of March 11, 1941, Public Law 11, 77th Congress, Entitled "An Act Further to Promote the Defense of the United States, and for Other Purposes". (S. Doc. 149, 77th Cong., 1st sess.) 48 pp.

Third Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1942: An Act Making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1942, and June 30, 1943, and for other purposes. [H. R. 6159.] Approved, December 17, 1941. (Public Law 353, 77th Cong., 1st sess.) 32 pp.

First War Powers Act, 1941: An Act To expedite the prosecution of the War effort. [H.R. 6233.] Approved, December 18, 1941. [Public Law 354, 77th Cong., 1st sess.] 4 pp.

Treaty Information

Compiled in the Treaty Division

FLORA AND FAUNA

CONVENTION ON NATURE PROTECTION AND WILDLIFE PRESERVATION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

El Salvador

By a letter dated December 10, 1941 the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that the instrument of ratification by El Salvador of the Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere, which was opened for signature at the Union on October 12, 1940, was deposited with the Union on December 2, 1941.

This convention has now been ratified by the United States of America, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Venezuela. It will enter into force three months after the deposit of the fifth instrument of ratification, in accordance with the provisions of article XII.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE

The Convention Providing for the Creation of an Inter-American Indian Institute which was opened for signature at Mexico City on November 1, 1940, is in effect at this time as a result of ratification by the United States of America, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua,

Panama, and Paraguay. The Institute at present is established with headquarters at Mexico City. It will act as a standing committee for the inter-American Indian conferences and will cooperate in the execution of the resolutions adopted by these conferences. It will collect and distribute reports, initiate and direct scientific investigations and inquiries applicable to the solution of Indian problems, cooperate in an advisory capacity with the bureaus of Indian affairs of the American nations and with the Pan American Union, and discharge such other functions as may be assigned by the inter-American Indian conferences.

The convention also provides for the establishment of a governing board, composed of one representative and an alternate from each of the member nations, which shall exercise supreme control over the Institute. The Mexican Government has requested the Government of the United States to designate a representative and an alternate representative on this body. The President has approved the designation of Mr. John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, as this Government's representative on the governing board and the senior officer below the chief of mission of the United States Embassy at Mexico City as the alternate representative on the governing board.

The Congress has appropriated the sum of \$4,800 to meet the contribution of the United

States to the Inter-American Indian Institute for the fiscal year 1942 (Second Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1942, approved October 28, 1941).

By Executive Order 8930 of November 1, 1941 the President established in the Department of the Interior a National Indian Institute for the United States of America, which shall be affiliated with the Inter-American Indian Institute. Pursuant to the Executive order, a policy board is established within the National Indian Institute for the purpose of recommending policies to be followed by this national organization.¹

OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS OF 1925 AND 1931

Belgian Congo; Ruanda-Urundi

The Belgian Ambassador in Washington informed the Secretary of State by a note dated December 12, 1941 that the adherence of the Belgian Congo and the Mandated Territory of Ruanda-Urundi to the International Opium Convention, signed February 19, 1925, and to the Convention for Limiting the Manufacture and Regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs, signed July 13, 1931, has been notified to the League of Nations by the Belgian Government.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Diplomatic List, December 1941. Publication 1670. ii, 107 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy, 10¢.

¹ See the *Bulletin* of November 8, 1941, p. 373.

Regulations

Regulations Governing the Naturalization of Alien Enemies. December 13, 1941. (Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.) [General Order C-28, 5th Suppl.] 6 *Federal Register* 6450.

Regulations Under Trading With the Enemy Act: Communications Outside the Mails. [Amendments]. December 15, 1941. (Treasury Department, Customs Bureau.) 6 *Federal Register* 6453.

General License Under Section 3 (a) of the Trading With the Enemy Act [licensing transactions prohibited by section 3 (a) of the Act]. December 13, 1941. 6 *Federal Register* 6420.

Foreign Air Carrier Regulations [effective January 15, 1942]. (Civil Aeronautics Board.) 6 *Federal Register* 6348.

General Licenses Under Executive Order 8389, April 10, 1940, as Amended, and Regulations Issued Pursuant Thereto, Relating to Transactions in Foreign Exchange, Etc.: Thailand [grant of general license involving transactions in which Thailand or any national thereof has any interest]. December 9, 1941. (Treasury Department, Monetary Offices.) 6 *Federal Register* 6350.

Revocation of Licenses, Etc., Relating to Japan [all general or specific licenses or authorizations authorizing any transaction by, on behalf of, or for the benefit of Japan or any national thereof]. December 7, 1941. (Treasury Department, Monetary Offices.) 6 *Federal Register* 6304.

Coffee Quota Regulations [bond for production of consular invoice showing that a shipment of coffee under the Inter-American Coffee Agreement is within the producing country's quota for exportation to the United States]. December 18, 1941. (Treasury Department, Customs Bureau.) 6 *Federal Register* 6585.

Imports and Exports Subject to the Provisions of Executive Order 8389, as Amended, and the President's Proclamation of July 17, 1941, Regarding "Blocked Nationals": Restricted Exportations and Importations—Procedure in re: Special Licenses. December 17, 1941. (Treasury Department, Customs Bureau.) 6 *Federal Register* 6585.